00143192

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 March, 2016

OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STATE

OF THE

EUROPEAN PEOPLE

IN

1848 AND 1849;

BEING THE SECOND SERIES OF

THE NOTES OF A TRAVELLER.

143193

BY

SAMUEL LAING, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF

"A JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE IN NORWAY;" "A TOUR IN SWEDEN;" AND THE FIRST SERIES OF "NOTES OF A TRAVELLER ON THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STATE OF FRANCE, PRUSSIA, ETC."

RRA-7.8

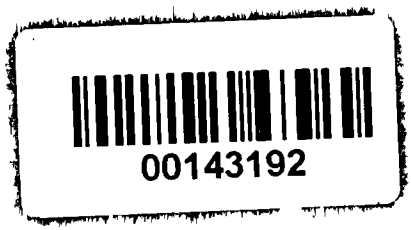
LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1850.


00143192

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-street-Square.

PREFACE.

EVERY generation naturally thinks the events of its own fifty years the most important that have occurred in history; as a straw close to the eye will hide an oak in the distance. It is no delusion, however, to regard the events of the present half century — the changes and improvements in the material, intellectual, and social condition of the European people — as eminently important and influential on the future generations of civilised society. Some of those changes and improvements may be valued too highly; the results may not come up to our expectations; some may be premature, and the people not in a state to profit by them, and some may be changes without being improvements; but still the present generation is entitled, above all which have preceded it, to consider its own times remarkably important, — and not merely from the great historical events and revolutions, the rise and fall of kings, dynasties, and governments of every form, which have distinguished these fifty years, but on account of the new social arrange-

ments and influences, the new elements of society which have sprung up and are overspreading all civilised lands. Royalty, aristocracy, church-power, and feudalism in legislation, or in administrative function, have lost root and are withering away on the Continent; and the communications and interchanges of ideas, tastes, and requirements between the people of different countries—one of the most important of the new elements in the social state of Europe—are now too frequent, intimate, and fully established, for one nation to remain far or permanently behind another in its social and political arrangements. All Europe is advancing towards one goal,—a higher social and political condition, one more suitable than that into which feudality had settled in the 18th century, to the more enlightened, more civilised, and in mind and means more independent people of the 19th: and every country is throwing off, either gradually or by convulsive effort, the slough of ignorance and misgovernment in which it had been enveloped for the preceding thousand years. This half century is the transition-period of society from a lower to a higher state.

The traveller who has watched the rise and progress of the struggle and process of social regeneration now going on in France and Germany, will observe some very important institutions and arrangements of a very equivocal character, which the rulers of those countries, whether democratic, liberal, or autocratic, have as if by common consent created or adopted from each other in the course of this half century, for the purpose of securing their own power, and of repressing the universal tendency to changes,

reforms, and improvements real or imaginary. France and Belgium under liberal or popularly constituted governments, Austria and Prussia under autocratic governments, have equally adopted the centralisation of all social action in the hands of the state, the superintendence and control of all individual action, the functionary system, the Conscription or Landwehr system, and the educational system under government management. It may well be doubted whether these social arrangements and institutions, and new powers assumed by the state, be really conducive to freedom, constitutional government, and the social, material, and moral well-being of the people; or whether they are not of a retrograde rather than of a progressive tendency, oppressions, and restraints on individual free agency, not suited to the spirit and requirements of the age, fetters in reality imposed upon the Continental people in the name and guise of ornaments or of necessary appendages, and which will be shaken off ere long in some fearful struggle.

It is proposed in this series of Notes of a Traveller to give the impressions and views of these new social elements which have from time to time occurred to the Author, in repeated visits to the Continent. The great diffusion of landed property through the social body in France and Germany, and its good and evil results and tendencies—the fall and extinction of aristocracy as a social power and support of monarchical government—the erection of functionarism instead of aristocracy, to uphold the Continental thrones—the educational system of the Continental governments centralising all tuition of the people in the hands of

functionary-teachers appointed by a minister of public instruction, for the purpose of forming and moulding the public mind and opinion suitably to the views and interests of the rulers — the failure of this system, by its own machinery counteracting its object, and the philosophic functionary-professors inoculating all the teachers and the whole generation under their tuition with social and political principles and speculations directly opposed to those of their governments — the Conscription and Landwehr system, with its results of giving military power, military organisation, and a restless barbarous military spirit incompatible with peace and industry to the whole population of the Continent, instead of confining those elements of evil to a single class in the community, maintained and controlled by a constitutional government, — these are new social elements introduced within this half century, which must be very influential on the future condition of the European people. Their vast importance is unquestionable, although their results as yet are not fully developed. It would certainly be great presumption to attempt, in the mere notes and observations of a traveller, to lay down opinions or speculations on the future effects upon civilised society of such new and mighty causes; or to do more than indicate their existence, importance, and present aspects. They are subjects which belong to the philosophic historian or social economist of some future generation. The Author of these Notes proposes merely to point out to other Travellers a few of those new and important social elements for their inquiry and consideration; and to suggest to his readers matter for

reflection both on domestic and foreign subjects. In this less ambitious task of merely furnishing suggestions, hints, and materials for others to think over, the Author's own views and observations may be weak, crude, unconnected, or even inconsistent with each other, and yet not be altogether useless or wide of his object in presenting them. He has no favourite theory, or code of opinions on social or political economy, to support by concealing views or impressions adverse to them, or by seeking only what may support them. His aim will be accomplished if he succeed in directing the attention of others to those mighty influences now coming into operation for great future good or evil, in the social state of the Continental people.

The success of the first series of Notes of a Traveller proves that a work which has no claim to being entertaining, well written, or instructive, may, from the advanced state of the public mind in this country, be very favourably received, if it be suggestive. Our reading public desires to think for itself, not to be thought for; and in matters of opinion, speculation, and theory prefers the raw materials to the made-up article. To furnish the raw material is the object of the following Notes.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

Notes on Effects of Steam-power on social Relations. On Novelty in foreign Countries. On Calais and Dover. Eustace de St. Pierre, Beau Brummel, Edward III. On Flanders, Cassel, the Flemish Dialect. Difference of social Structure where the unlatinized Teutonic Dialects prevail. Division of the Land into small Estates on the Sea-coasts and River-sides of Europe. Division of Land on the Continent. Tendency to its Aggregation in Britain. New Elements in the social Structure abroad. Difference of the social Structure in England. Subjects for the Traveller's Consideration - - - - Page 1

CHAP. II.

Notes on the Small-estate Occupancy of Land in Flanders as compared with the Large-estate and Large-farm Occupancy in Scotland. Husbandry in Flanders and Scotland compared. Stall-feeding and Saving of Manure in Flanders. Small-estate Husbandry compared with Large-farm Husbandry. Scotch Farming and Improvements. Their Effects on the Condition of the People of Scotland. Introduction of the Scotch System of Farming into Ireland. Theory and Results of the Scotch System of Farming examined. Small Peasant-proprietors and Peasant-tenants. Their Husbandry and social Condition compared. Economy of Labour, the Basis of Scotch Farming - - 18

CHAP. III.

Notes on the Theory of Population and Food increasing in different Ratios. The relative Increase of Population and Food stated differently. Land to produce Food artificially, not naturally, scarce for the Subsistence of its Population. Over-population only relative to Under-production from conventional Causes. On the Over-population of Ireland. On the Size of Farms in Ireland. On the Impracticability of converting the small Irish Farms into Farms of a Size for Scotch farming. On the Remedies proposed for the Over-population of Ireland. On Fisheries. On Factories. On Emigration - - - - Page 41

CHAP. IV.

Notes on Emigration. Emigration by Sea no Remedy for Over-population. Emigration of small Capitalists no Relief to the Country. Expense and Inefficiency of Emigration at the public Expense. Its Injustice. Reasons why a poor Man should not emigrate—why a Man with a little saved Capital should not emigrate. The English too co-operative, and too far advanced in Civilisation, to emigrate with advantage. Emigration from Germany. Letters of Expatriation - - - - 55

CHAP. V.

Notes on the Causes of the Division and Subdivision of tenant Occupancies in Ireland—Want of Property—Want of Employment—strong family Affection. Why the same Causes do not produce the same Effects in other Countries. Want of the Sense of Property among small Cotter-tenants. Strong Sense of Property among small Peasant-proprietors. The divisive Element only at work, the aggregative Element dormant in the social State of Ireland. The Manners, Way of Living, Costume of Peasant-proprietors conservative. Well-being in this social State. Intellectual and moral Condition of this Class. National Wealth and national Well-being not always the same. Advantages of the small-estate Occupancy. Which of the two social States is preferable. Importance of the Question. Duty of the Traveller to state both Sides of it impartially - - 79

CHAP. VI.

Notes on the Disadvantages of the small-estate Occupancy of the Land of a Country. It is a stationary, not a progressive social State. Want of co-operative Industry. Want of Means to cultivate the Tastes of a higher Civilisation. The small Estates not always divided, but generally burdened with Payments to Coheirs by the equal Division of Land among the Children. Want of a Middle Class between the governed and the governing in this social State. The Equality of Condition in it not favourable to Liberty. Want of Demand for, and the Means to purchase, the Objects of peaceful Industry. Want of any increasing Employment for the increasing Population in each Generation. The Youth necessarily thrown for Employment into military Service — Effects of this war Element in different Countries and different Ages. The History and Economy of this social State adverse to the Views of the Peace Congress. The true Balance between the old and new social State of Europe not to be found in this Generation - - - - - Page 93

CHAP. VII.

Notes on the Loire — on the Change in the French Character from Gaiety to Seriousness — on the Want of Self-government. Extravagant Scale of all public Works from this Want of Control. Centralisation and Non-centralisation illustrated in the Roads of France and of England. The Taste for Display in the French Character. Difference of the Objects on which Income is expended in England and in France. Social Effects of the different Expenditure of equal Incomes by the French and English Family. The civilising Influence of the Diffusion of the Useful Arts greater than of the Fine Arts. On the Effects of government Interference with manufacturing Industry. Encouragement by the continental Governments of the Manufacture of Earthenware — the Effects. French Carts. Ploughs of different Countries. Working Cows and Heifers. Spade-work compared with Plough-work. Vine-culture. Touraine interesting to English Travellers — Houses — Manner of Living — Historical Connection with England - - - - 112

CHAP. VIII.

Notes on Land and Population on the Continent and in England. A Reserve of Land in England to meet an Increase of Population — none on the Continent — probable Consequences. On the Abolition of the Corn Laws as a conservative Measure for the English Landed Interest. Rents in Kind. High Farming not judicious with low Prices and Money Rents. On Measures resorted to in former Times for limiting the Increase of Population to the Amount of Employment. Every Country has its own Political Economy suited to its physical Circumstances. Guilds or Incorporations of Trades.—Is Labour a Property? Socialism is a Revival of the Principle of the Guilds of the Middle Ages — the Principle and Results the same - - Page 147

CHAP. IX.

Notes on a Middle Class between the Government and the People. On the Reform of the Distribution of Land in Prussia. Fall of the Feudal Aristocracy. Establishment of Functionarism as the third Element in the social Body. Spirit of Functionarism — Dangerous to the Monarch and the People. Case of Torture inflicted in Hanover in 1818. Functionarism in Norway — in the United States. Effects of the Functionary System on Industry — on Education - - - - - 173

CHAP. X.

Notes on the German Students, or Burschenschaft. Numbers at the Prussian and Scotch Universities compared. Educational System of the German and Scotch Universities different in its Object and Results from that of the English. Why the German Students are considered dangerous to the established Governments. The Restrictions on the Freedom of teaching throw public Opinion and social Action into the Hands of the Professors at the Universities. The War with Denmark was produced by this social Power - - - - - 204

CHAP. XI.

Notes on the Landwehr System. An ancient Establishment — revived after the Peace of Tilsit in 1807 by Prussia — its Efficiency proved in 1813, 1814 — its present Organisation — not suitable to Times of Peace. Oppressive and demoralising Effects of the Landwehr Service on the People. Landwehr and a Standing Army compared. Effects of the three new Elements in the social Condition of the Continent. The Distribution of Land Functionarism and Landwehr Service considered. Notes on the public Buildings and Fortifications on the Continent. On Penal Labour on Fortifications. On the Abolition of Capital Punishment — why it cannot be abolished in our penal Code. On the Want of Self-respect in the continental Character — Notions of Liberty. Form of a Constitutional Government without the Reality of Freedom - - - - - Page 228

CHAP. XII.

Notes on the Town and Country Populations abroad and in England. On the Vice and Profligacy of London compared to other Capitals. Prostitution in London — in Paris. Moral Condition of the London Population. Habits, Character, and social State of the English and Scotch compared. Moral Tie in England between Landlord and Tenant. On the comparative Well-being of the Working Man on the Continent and in England. On the Burdens on the Continental Working Man. Military Service. Direct Taxes. Kopfsteuer or Poll-tax. Gewerbsteuer or Trade Tax. Class-tax in Prussia, Hanover, etc. Direct and indirect Taxes compared. Injustice of direct Taxation as a Substitute for indirect Taxes. Higher Well-being of the English Working Class. Advantage of the Continental Working Class in the easier Acquisition of Land - - 273

CHAP. XIII.

Notes on the Indications in Foreign and British Towns of a reading Public. Printing and Bookselling Establishments in Berlin and Edinburgh. Newspapers, Periodicals, Sects, Meeting-houses indicate a higher intellectual Condition of our Population. On

the Rhine Provinces of Prussia—Landwehr and Conscription compared—better satisfied with the French than the Prussian Government. Disjointed State of the Prussian Kingdom. The Parts incapable of Union into one Nation. The Union of Scotland with England misled the Congress of Vienna in the Partition of Europe in 1816. On Munich—the Fine Arts—Fresco Painting. Influence of the Fine Arts on Civilisation considered - - - - - - Page 312

CHAP. XIV.

Notes on a remarkable Difference between the Anglo-Saxon and the other Branches of the Teutonic Race, in the Love of Music. On Music and Musical Education—not suitable to the English State of Society. On Theatrical Representation. False Importance given to the social Influence of the Fine Arts on Civilisation - - - - - - 348

CHAP. XV.

Notes on German Watering-places. Manners. Road to the Tyrol. Similarity of the Tyrol and Norway—Buildings—People. Kreut. Innsbruck. Landeck. Mals. Meran—beautiful Scenery—picturesque Costume. Mixed Races and pure Races of People. The Silk Culture—its Effects on the Condition of the People. The Roman Catholic Church—its Influence on the social State of the Middle Ages—still of Benefit as a third independent Power between the autocratic Governments of the Continent and the People. The Prussian Concordat with the Pope—its Failure as a useful or peaceful Agreement. - 377

CHAP. XVI.

Notes on Frankfort in Spring 1849. The German Parliament—St. Paul's Church—the Members—Proportion from the different States—Proportion from the different Classes and Interests. The Club System. The Club Regulations. The Members Representatives only of their Clubs, not of the German People.

Club Opinion not the genuine public Opinion. Club Regime introduced into English Legislation by the Corn-law League — its Danger. The Club-parliament of Frankfort — its Waste of Time — its frivolous Discussions. Cause of the Failure of the Frankfort Parliament — the neglect of the religious Element. The Movement of 1848 in Germany traced to the Suppression by the King of Prussia of the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, and of Ronge's German Catholic Church. Policy, Conduct, and Character of the late King of Prussia - - - Page 409

CHAP. XVII.

Notes on the Policy and Conduct of Prussia in the German Movement of 1848, in the Schleswig-Holstein Affairs. Retributive Justice to Prussia and to Germany in the Results of the Schleswig-Holstein War. Real Importance of Schleswig in the European System. On the German Constituent Assembly compared to the Norwegian of 1813. Superiority of the non-educated over the educated Body of Representatives. On Hamburgh — life in Hamburgh — Table d'Hôte — Rainville's — Altona. Social Enjoyment of the middle and lower Classes in Germany — its Effects — Advantages and Disadvantages — sanitary Condition — moral Condition. Hamburgh and Lubeck important military Posts for the new German Empire - - - - - 437

CHAP. XVIII.

Notes on the Scenery of Germany. Effects of Scenery on the imaginative Faculty of different Nations — on German Character. The Peninsula of Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland. The Limfiord. On the gradual Rising of the Land on the Baltic Side of the Scandinavian Peninsula. On Roads and Railroads on the Continent. Farm-houses and Aspect of the Country in Holstein. Rim of fertile Land on the Shores of the North Sea and Baltic. Surplus Labour. Surplus Land. Pauper Colonies — why unsuccessful. State of Peasant-proprietors in Holstein. A Protestant Convent — similar Institutions proposed. Pretz. Ploen. Eutin. Voss. Göthe - - - - 476

CHAP. XIX.

Notes on Angeln. The Anglo-Saxons — Who were the Anglo-Saxons? Claim of the present Germans to be considered Anglo-Saxons — difference in the physical Circumstances and Character of the two Populations. The Cement which binds People together into a Nation wanting in Germany — GermanNationality not possible — conflicting Interests of the different Parts of Germany prevent a beneficial Unity or Nationality — federal Union only attainable. Social Condition of the Continental People — material Condition — intellectual Condition — incapacity for Self-government or Liberal Constitutions - Page 508

NOTES OF A TRAVELLER.

CHAPTER I.

NOTES ON EFFECTS OF STEAM-POWER ON SOCIAL RELATIONS. — ON NOVELTY IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. — ON CALAIS AND DOVER. — EUSTACE DE ST. PIERRE, BEAU BRUMMEL, EDW. III. — ON FLANDERS, CASSEL, THE FLEMISH DIALECT. — DIFFERENCE OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE WHERE THE UNLATINIZED TEUTONIC DIALECTS PREVAIL. — DIVISION OF THE LAND INTO SMALL ESTATES ON THE SEA-COASTS AND RIVER-SIDES OF EUROPE. — DIVISION OF LAND ON THE CONTINENT. — TENDENCY TO ITS AGGREGATION IN BRITAIN. — NEW ELEMENTS IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE ABROAD. — DIFFERENCE OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ENGLAND. — SUBJECTS FOR THE TRAVELLER'S CONSIDERATION.

WHAT a world of passengers in our steamer! Princes, dukes, gentlemen, ladies, tailors, milliners, people of every rank and calling, all jumbled together. The power of steam is not confined to material objects. Its influences extend over the social and moral arrangements of mankind. Steam is the great democratic power of our age; annihilating the conventional distinctions, differences, and social distance between man and man, as well as the natural distances between place and place. Observe that high and mighty Exclusive, sitting all by himself on the bench of the

steamer's quarter-deck, wrapped up in his own self-importance and his blue travelling-cloak lined with white, and casting his looks of superiority around him. He is an English gentleman, no doubt, of family and fortune. What a great personage this I-by-myself-I traveller would have been in the days of postchaises-and-four and sailing-packets! Now, in the steam-boat, not a soul, not even the ship-dog, takes the least notice of his touch-me-not dignity. He looks grand, he looks my lord, in vain. Worse than want of respect is this want of notice at all, the being absolutely overlooked. The dinner-bell rings, and down must this great personage scramble with the rest of us; must eat, and drink, and carve,—and ask, and help, or be helped,—and talk, listen, and live, with the other passengers, or go without dinner, and starve; and nobody cares, or puts himself out of the way, for him. His grocer's clerk, perhaps, or his tailor's heir-apparent, outshines him; or, it may be, puts down, in a cavalier tone, his assumption of superiority in the hail-fellow-well-met circle of passengers who are whisked along by this democratic power of steam, at equal pace and equal price, with equal rights and equal consideration. It is not the English nobility and gentry only who are cut down, by the steam demon, to the dimensions of ordinary mortals. The German potentate, who at home sits in whiskered magnificence at the window of his schloss, and may count every shirt laid on the green to bleach within the circle of his hereditary dominions and territorial sway, condescends, in these days of speed and economy, to save his state revenues, and travel by steam to visit his crowned cousins. Seated in the saloon of a Rhine steam-boat, he stares over his tawny moustachios,

like an owl in a withered beech-hedge, at the free and easy crowd of passengers of all ranks and countries, who seem quite insensible of their proximity to so much grandeur. He discovers, perhaps, in his all-engrossing, talkative, *vis-à-vis* neighbour at dinner, whom the waiters fly to serve, the thriving draper of his own village-metropolis, returning from Manchester, with a fresh stock of goods and assurance, with which he feels quite at his ease, and sits altogether unannihilated in the sublime presence. Nay, horror of horrors! the fellow calls for a bottle of higher-priced wine than his Serene Highness is drinking; nods, actually nods, to the thrice illustrious Herr; tells him they must have seen each other somewhere before, and proposes a glass to their better acquaintance! Where will the influences of steam-power end? They began with the physical, and are extending over the social, political, and moral world.

I envy the young traveller to whom all is novelty in a foreign country. What a delightful epoch in his existence is the first saunter, after landing from the steam-boat, through the streets and market-place of a foreign town, even of a poor decaying one like Calais! He threads his way in ecstasy through the crowd of hucksters, and country women sitting in their brown woollen cloaks beside their baskets of eggs, butter, and vegetables. He goes peeping into every stall and shop-window; and catching every sound and word, familiar enough to him in print, but which he never before heard uttered by the vulgar. It seems so strange to hear the words and phrases which he had studied, and got by heart, as a branch of polite education, used in common conversation by

the lowest of the people. He has almost to guess the meaning of what he knows by the eye, but not by the ear from any other mouth than his French teacher's. He ascribes to the speakers a refinement and intelligence which they have not, because they speak a language which to him has been a branch of refined education and intellectual exercise. Then, how pleasing to gaze at the unexpected novelty of the most ordinary objects; at the high-peaked gable-ends of ancient houses, forming each side of narrow winding streets; at the row above row of casement-windows, as if every street-front was half built of glass,—and which, although the glass is bad, and the wood-work wretched, gives a cheerful character to the meanest habitations abroad, and gives, what we want so much in our dwellings at home, light and air.

The mist of novelty, like other mists, magnifies and beautifies the objects seen through it, but it must be dispelled before the traveller ventures to describe their true shapes and dimensions. He only gives his own impressions and feelings when he writes under the influence of novelty. When the vapour with which it invests all things has faded away, how coarse and ungainly appear to his English eye, and his English taste for neatness and perfect workmanship, all the utensils, instruments, and *matériel* of every-day life! What unsubstantial show and ornament, where the conveniences, and even necessaries, of a comfortable housekeeping are either totally wanting, or rudely and imperfectly supplied! The young traveller soon begins to observe, and to feel, if he has been bred in the neatness and comfort of an English household, that we enjoy at home,—and no mistake about it,—many more substantial well-adapted things,

many more comfortable things, many more useful, well-contrived, and perfectly executed things about us in our daily life, than the wealthiest class in France or Germany have any idea of, or any taste for. We are centuries in advance of the Continental people in the application of the useful arts to the conveniences and comforts of ordinary life, and in our daily material existence.

Calais is much more of a literary and historical lady than her sister Dover. Who ever heard of a Baron of the Cinque Ports, except at the ceremonial of a coronation? But Sterne's Monk and the snuff-box, and La Fleur, and Marie, will make Calais and "Dessins" float visible down the stream of time a thousand generations after the Ship Inn, and the Mayors of Dover, and all the Barons and Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports, past, present, and to come, the Duke of Wellington on his bronze steed among them, are numbered with the Mastodons and Megalosauri—things which have been. Sterne's imaginary personages will ever be realities, present, in every generation, as belonging to man, and will be so while mind, feeling, and the intellectual and moral nature of man exist. The conceits and affectations of Sterne, his laborious efforts to be easy, natural, original, and witty, do not suit the refined taste of our age, and Sterne is little thought of in modern English literature; yet he touches the natural and the pathetic, and is the source of what is called originality in others who are but his imitators. A great school of sentimental and pathetic writers arose in Germany, and copied the style of Sterne in overcharged feeling and expression about trifles. Goethe, in his early writings,

such as "Werther," took his inspiration not from nature, but from Laurence Sterne; and Jean Paul Richter figures in German literature as the most original of writers, in his long-winded conceits, and heavy and laboured efforts at wit and novelty, of which the prototype is Sterne's "Tristram Shandy."

Eustace de St. Pierre, one of the true heroes of history, was not he a Calais Mayor? Beau Brummel, was not he a denizen of Calais? The bloody Queen Mary died, she said, with Calais engraven on her heart. Lady Hamilton, with a heart as hard,—Mrs. Jordan, with the kindest of hearts,—died at Calais. It is a town in which very extraordinary contrasts have taken place. It is within probability, in the strange coincidences time brings about in human affairs, that in the same apartment in which Beau Brummel adjusted the tie of his cravat, Eustace de St. Pierre, four centuries before, may have put the rope round his neck, and he and his five fellow-citizens, haltered, and walking in procession to offer their lives to Edward III., to save their native town from his vengeance, may have descended the same stairs, and have issued from the same doorway, which Beau Brummel entered and ascended to look from the garret window at his "fat friend," George IV., on his journey to Hanover. Types of their times were these personages all. King Edward, his queen Philippa, Eustace de St. Pierre and his five townsmen, types of one age,—George IV. and Beau Brummel types of another; types of an age of heroism, and of an age of starch.

In and around Calais, for a league or two, mud or barren sandy downs prevail. This narrow belt of

sand-hills skirts and defends the north-west coast of the Continent, from the Scaw point in Jutland to the chalk ridge between Calais and Boulogne, and is exchanged only for artificial embankments, or sea-dykes, at the mouths of the rivers, the Eyder, Elbe, Weser, Ems, Rhine, Scheldt, where new land has been formed by the deposit of alluvial soil against the original sand-hills or gravel-banks of the old ocean coast. When we cross this narrow belt at Calais, and take the road to Belgium and the Rhine by St. Omer, we come to a flat country of a rich loamy soil, covered to the distant horizon with glorious crops of rye, wheat, barley, rape for seed and for oil, and luxuriant red clover, saintfoin, and lucerne, for stall-feeding. Cassel is a little town standing on the summit of a protuberance in the middle of this vast and rich plain of Flanders,—a wart on the fair bosom of the Flemish lady. This steep isolated little hill appears to be of volcanic origin, its rock similar to the stone of which the Coliseum at Rome is built. In the little town which covers its summit, we come upon a different social as well as geological formation. The names of the streets, and the inscriptions on sign-posts and shop-boards, are given in two languages, the French and the Flemish. We are upon a point of the line dividing the Celtic and Teutonic races. The Flemish branch of the Teutonic stock begins here, both in the language and in the physical appearance, the manners, and the character of the people, and extends northwards along the coast, meeting the Frisian and Danish branches of the same stock at the Eyder. The Flemish, the Dutch, the Platt Deutsch, and the Frisian dialects, are offsets of one original old Teutonic tongue, and they differ much less from each other in their

formation and construction as languages, and probably much less from the old original Teutonic type, than they do from the cultivated modern German of literature. The latter gradually adopted the Latin construction in the middle ages, Latin being the language of literature, law, and of the Church, from the fourth century to the Reformation. The vulgar dialects were abandoned to the vulgar, and remained unaltered in the mouth of the vulgar. These Teutonic dialects are still strangers to the Latin collocation of words in the sentence, to the distinctions of genders and cases in the use of the articles and nouns, and to the other latinizations which have been imposed on the cultivated German language. Where these unlatinized ancient dialects prevail, a difference, as remarkable as that of language, prevails in the social structure and the condition of the people. The land is divided into small estates of working peasant-proprietors. This has probably been the original social state of the countries beyond the pale of the Roman empire, and beyond its influence on their institutions, laws, and languages. In many countries within its pale, two causes prevented the aggregation of land, in ancient times, into large estates in the hands of a small number of feudal nobles holding exclusively the property in the soil, and holding the people on it as their serfs. In the early middle ages, and even in the ages when the Roman power was still vigorous and respected, land adjacent to the sea-coast, or even to navigable streams at a considerable distance from the sea-coast, was not safe from the depredations of the Saxon and northern pirates, whose booty consisted principally in agricultural products; and it was exposed also to the loss, by desertion or capture,

of the slaves or serfs who were the working-stock of the great landowner. A feudal nobility, like that of the inland countries of the Continent, could scarcely arise, or come to any permanent and general establishment in the sea-coast countries, or in those on the navigable rivers, for property could only be defended, or removed from the sudden grasp of the piratical marauders, by a peasantry having interests and property of their own to defend, or remove. We see on the Rhine, for instance, at the present day, remains of feudal power, in castles and strongholds, above Cologne; while the country below Cologne accessible to the sudden attack of the piratical rovers, is remarkably bare of those monuments of the power and barbarism of the great nobles of the feudal ages. Every river in Europe tells the same tale in its course,—viz. that towards its mouth the land has never been feudalised, but has always been held by small peasant proprietors. The Scheldt, the various outlets of the Maese and Rhine, the Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Eyder, all concur in showing this social formation at the river-mouths, and the coasts between them, as one different now, and in all past ages, from the social formation of the inland countries of the Continent. The other cause for this tendency to a small-estate occupancy of the land on all the coasts and river-sides of Europe is, that a great proportion of this sea-coast and river-side land has been originally gained, and can only now be defended, from the sea or river floods, by the co-operation, exertion, watchfulness, and industry of a numerous body of small working-proprietors, raising embankments and dykes, and cutting drains, to secure small areas of the silt, or mud bank, contiguous to their fields, from the waters, and

having a common interest in their work, and a self-government in each neighbourhood for directing their united efforts. The feudal baron in his castle, with a domain around it peopled by vassals or serfs having no property or permanent interest in the soil, could never have gained or defended from the sea or rivers those small embanked areas, often not more than an acre or two in extent, of mud or silt, and called polders in Holland, and cogs in Friesland, which have been taken in by degrees, from ebb-tide to ebb-tide, by the working peasant-proprietor, and added to his own contiguous little field acquired in the same way by the preceding generation. The whole of these small acquisitions are secured at last permanently from the waters, by a sea or river dyke constructed by the united intelligence and labour of all the adjoining peasant-proprietors deriving benefit from it. Holland, a great part of the Netherlands, and of the whole coast-side and river-side lands from the most westerly point of Jutland, the Blaawands Hoek north of the Eyder, round to Ostend south of the Scheldt, where the sand-hill formation becomes a continuous sea-defence, not broken, as in Holland, into detached downs, and joins the chalk cliff at Boulogne, have been gained in this way, little by little, from the sea, or from the rivers. The acquisitions of each generation may be traced by the old embankments, far back now from the waters, and neglected, because new advances and dykes, and the natural rise of the level in the course of ages, by vegetable matter added to the surface, make it unnecessary to keep them up. It is evident that feudality could have no natural seat here, —could never furnish the social machinery to gain and protect such land from the inroad of the waters,

or to defend its products from the Saxon and Danish freebooters. A peasant-proprietary, enjoying, under every form of government and change of rulers, rights and self-government in their own local affairs, unknown to the feudalised inhabitants of the inland parts of the Continent, has, from the earliest ages, occupied the land adjacent to the sea-coasts and river-mouths, and, in social arrangements, character, physical and intellectual influences, and modes of existence, forming in reality a distinct nation, — distinct even in their dialects of the Teutonic from the inhabitants of the interior of Germany. This sea-coast nation of small proprietors has, at this day, as little in common with the population of Germany as the seafaring Anglo-Saxons of the fifth century could have had with the hunting tribes of the ancient Germans bred in the Hercanian Forest. Elements totally different enter into their social existence. The germs of freedom, of self-government, of liberal institutions, are found in this population, from the physical circumstances in which it exists, even where these are overlaid by a despotical form of political government. It is remarked by the traveller Köhl, in his observations on Schleswig and Holstein, that, in the districts of Eyderstad and Ditmarsh, under the autocratic rule of Denmark, the people elect their own functionaries, and manage for themselves their own local affairs; and only one estate in the whole tract from the Eyder to the Elbe is held by a nobleman. We find in the history of all ages and countries, from the North Cape to Gibraltar, that liberty, however oppressed, sits, in some shape or other, on the shore side or the river bank.

In Flanders, Holland, Friesland, about the estuaries of the Scheldt, Maese, Rhine, Ems, Weser, Elbe,

and Eyder, in a great part of Westphalia and other districts of Germany, in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and, in the south of Europe, in Switzerland, the Tyrol, Lombardy, and Tuscany, the peasants have, from very early times, been the proprietors of a great proportion of the land. France and Prussia have, in our times, been added to the countries in which the land is divided into small estates of working peasant-proprietors. In every country of Europe, under whatever form of government, however remotely and indirectly affected by the wars and convulsions of the French Revolution, and however little the laws, institutions, and spirit of the government may as yet be in accordance with this social state of the people, the tendency during this century has been to the division and distribution of the land into small estates of a working peasant-proprietary,—not to its aggregation into large estates of a nobility and gentry. This has been the real revolution in Europe. The only exception is Great Britain. The tendency with us during the present century has been directly the reverse. It has been to aggregate small estates into large; and in Scotland, and a great part of England, to aggregate even small tenant occupancies into large farms. What have been the effects on the condition — on the physical and moral well-being — of the people of these two opposite social systems,—of the one of which Great Britain is the type, and now almost the only great example among the European countries; and of the other of which the most ancient type, and that which may most readily be compared with the first, is, perhaps, this country of Flanders?

In France and Prussia, the distribution of the land

through the social body has not been of sufficiently long standing to admit of its results on the social state and condition of the people being fairly appreciated by the traveller. It is but a change of yesterday forced upon those countries by the French Revolution, and the subsequent wars, and for which the people, who became suddenly the proprietors of the land on which they had lived as serfs, were not prepared. It is not a social arrangement, growing up in a country by the slow and gradual operation of natural causes, and carrying along with it, in its progress among the population, the character, conduct, sense of property, and the prudence which belong to proprietors. It was a sudden leap. The serf, the leibeigen peasant of yesterday, became a free man to-day, and a proprietor the next day, of a part of that domain on which he was born, bred, and *adscriptus glebæ* like one of the working cattle, and without any preparatory training for his new condition, or any hereditary traditions of the conduct and character suitable to it. This mighty social change, so rapidly developed, and spread over the whole Continent, is the most important result, by far, of the French Revolution, the most pregnant with future good or future evil, of any produced by that great event. The rise and fall of dynasties, constitutions, or forms of government, sink into insignificance compared to this all-important revolution in the social economy of the European people, this new social state, as it may justly be called, to which the form, spirit, and administration of government, and law, in Europe, must be adapted if they are to rest on a permanent foundation. The memorable events of the year 1848 show that the Continental sovereigns have

not seen, or have misunderstood, the tendency, spirit, and strength of this new social element, which they themselves, in a great measure, created; and prove that even now, in the beginning of its development, the old institutions and spirit of the Continental governments are not suited to it, and must be made conformable to it, either by violence, or timely adjustment.

By the French Revolution, and its direct or indirect influences on the governing and the governed of every European country, three new elements have been introduced into the social economy of the Continental people, new, at least, in the extent of development, and power, they have now attained. The first is, this general distribution of the land into small estates of peasant-proprietors. The second, a necessary consequence of the first, is the extinction of the social importance of the former great landholders, the aristocracy, gentry, or nobles, as a third influential body between the monarch and the people, and the substitution of a new element, functionarism, instead of aristocracy, in the social structure, as the support of monarchical government. The third is the Landwehr institution, by which, instead of a distinct class of the community being kept up by the state as a standing army, the whole community, all the male population of age and strength to carry arms, are embodied, trained for three years in the ranks of a regiment of the line as common soldiers, and constitute the main military force of the country.

What are the effects and tendencies of these three new elements introduced, since the beginning of this century, into the social economy of the Continent? They are scarcely known in ours. We have no body of peasant-proprietors of land; we have no body of

government functionaries, no *beamptenstand*, with rank, social influence, and power above the nobility, gentry, proprietors, and capitalists of the country, and forming a distinct class of more weight and importance in public affairs than any other in the community,—or, more properly, having the sole management and voice in local or general affairs, to the exclusion of any other class. We have no Landwehr, or compulsory military service, placing every able-bodied male individual of the whole population, without exception, exemption, or substitution, in the ranks of a regiment for three years, and then calling him out annually for military duty and exercise, for several weeks, as long as he is fit for service. We are, in our social life, arrangements, and institutions, much more distinct and widely apart from the Continental people, since the peace and settlement of Europe in 1815, than we ever were at any former period of our history. The philanthropists who are flattering themselves that a peace of thirty years, and an unexampled extension of commercial affairs and personal relations between individuals of different countries, are rapidly assimilating all nations to one common type of civilisation, and are bringing on a happy period when wars will cease, conventional differences will no longer divide nations, and all disputes between countries will be settled by arbitration at a Peace Congress, are not looking at the different elements of society which have been growing up on the Continent since the last peace,—elements sown in the war, and which are only adapted to and preparative for war, and a military organisation and spirit of society. We are in reality now, in the 19th century, more the *toto divisi orbe Britanni* than we

were in the 4th, or the 14th. The spirit and principle of our social institutions are more different now than they were then, from those of the Continental people. Whether the new social state on which the Continent is entering, or the old in which this country is remaining, be the best adapted for the end of all social arrangements, the well-being, moral and physical, of the individuals composing the social body, is a question not, perhaps, to be answered in the present generation. We know, indeed, in this country, the ground on which our social structure with its economy is standing; we know its faults and its merits, its good and its bad productions. But the three new elements in Continental society, — the division and distribution of landed property, functionarism, and the Landwehr institution, — are but now beginning to expand, and show indications of their fruits. The Continental people themselves cannot foresee what these fruits may be. To watch their progress, as the botanist would that of unknown seeds or shrubs in his garden, to collect facts and observations on the origin, growth, probable tendencies, and apparent effects and qualities of these three new elements in the social state of Europe, should be the object of the traveller on the Continent in the present times. He cannot expect to be amusing in his account of countries and scenes which every one is familiar with in our travelling generation; but he may be suggestive. The old materials which would have filled his three volumes in former days, — the dining here, and sleeping there, the good road or the bad, the disasters of a broken axle, or a lame off-horse, — have ceased to interest. Travel-readers have become travellers themselves, and scamper in their steam-boots seven

leagues an hour, by land and sea, over all the domain of common-place which, in the last generation, was the undisputed property of the family of tour and travel writers. The traveller now must either keep his observations to himself, if he has only visited the well-known countries of Europe familiar to everybody, or he must direct the public attention to higher subjects than his personal adventures, and the details of the road; and give his observations on the political and social economy, the institutions, mind, and moral and material condition, of the Continental people. He has a higher vocation, a wider field, and nobler subjects, than the traveller of former days. He is the historian of the present; not, indeed, of the present events, scenes, and revolutions of the day, but of those changes in spirit, and character, of those new social arrangements, and institutions, which are producing the present revolutions, scenes, and events, and which threaten greater at no distant period. I propose in these notes to suggest to other travellers various subjects of observation, as they occurred to me, on the social economy of the people of the Continent. I do not offer my own views or conclusions on those subjects as correct, and undeniable. I shall be content if they only suggest matter of inquiry, consideration, and comparison, to old travellers sated with mere sight-seeing on the Continent, and to young travellers who are apt to see nothing but sights on their travels; and to bring them to the conviction I have come to, — that, upon the whole, we are not behind other people in well-being, and good government.

CHAP. II.

NOTES ON THE SMALL-ESTATE OCCUPANCY OF LAND IN FLANDERS AS COMPARED WITH THE LARGE-ESTATE AND LARGE-FARM OCCUPANCY IN SCOTLAND. — HUSBANDRY IN FLANDERS AND SCOTLAND COMPARED. — STALL-FEEDING AND SAVING OF MANURE IN FLANDERS. — SMALL-ESTATE HUSBANDRY COMPARED WITH LARGE-FARM HUSBANDRY. — SCOTCH FARMING AND IMPROVEMENTS. — THEIR EFFECTS ON THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF SCOTLAND. — INTRODUCTION OF THE SCOTCH SYSTEM OF FARMING INTO IRELAND. — THEORY AND RESULTS OF THE SCOTCH SYSTEM OF FARMING EXAMINED. — SMALL PEASANT-PROPRIETORS AND PEASANT-TENANTS. — THEIR HUSBANDRY AND SOCIAL CONDITION COMPARED. — ECONOMY OF LABOUR, THE BASIS OF SCOTCH FARMING.

In Flanders, and in those countries or districts of Germany in which the land has, for ages, been divided into small estates of working peasant proprietors, the traveller may expect to find some consequences of this small-estate occupancy of the land, visible in the physical, intellectual, and social condition of the people. The state of agriculture compared to that of countries possessed, and occupied, as England and Scotland are, under the opposite system of large estates and large farms, the relation of subsistence to population under each system, the good in each, and the evil in each, may at least be guessed at by the traveller. Good or bad farming, abundant or scanty crops on the ground, well-being or want, employment or idleness among a people, are obvious facts on which he may venture to speculate. His speculations may be wrong, yet if his observations

be correct, he has not travelled, and observed, in vain, for others will dig deeper, and discover the true root of what he has observed. Here, in Flanders, from Calais, by St. Omer, to Lisle, Belgium, and Prussia, a route as well known to English travellers as the road from London to York, the division of the land into small estates of working peasant-proprietors is painted upon the face of the country. The whole expanse is like a carpet, divided into small compartments of different shades and hues of green, according to the different crops of which each farmer has a little patch on his little estate. Two different kinds of crop may often be seen on one rig, or bed; and five or six acres together under one kind of crop, are not common: There being no hedges or inclosures, no grass fields for pasture, and no uncultivated corners or patches, the whole country looks like one vast bleach-field covered with long webs of various colours and shades. The land is evidently divided into very small portions of property. The traveller cannot be mistaken in this observation. Now, as this state of property is of old standing here in Flanders, and not, as in the rest of France, an arrangement of recent date, what have been the results on the material condition of the people, or their agriculture, in the first place, on the amount of constant employment it affords them, on their numbers in proportion to their means of subsistence, on their food, lodging, clothing, on their moral and intellectual character? The condition of the people here must be the type of that to which the whole of Europe, excepting Great Britain, is tending, and which will be universal on the Continent in a few generations. Here, if there be truth in theory, all the evil of a division and subdivision of

land, down to the minimum—the Irish minimum—of a potato-bed for the subsistence of the occupant and his family, must be fully developed, and, as in Ireland, must have reached its extreme. Here, over-population in proportion to food must be excessive; here the incompatibility of small farms with agricultural improvement and productiveness, must be apparent; and the superiority, for national wealth and well-being, of the cultivation of a country in large farms, occupied by tenants of capital and skill, as in the south of Scotland, over the cultivation of a country cut up into little estates of ten or twelve acres, farmed by working peasant-proprietors and their families, must be striking, and altogether undeniable. To see and judge for myself, I have repeatedly visited this and other parts of the Continent, in which the land is generally in the hands of small peasant-proprietors, and has been so for ages. Here this social arrangement admits of a clear comparison with that which now prevails, in its full integrity, in Britain only. The soil is not superior to the average of the good soils of England and Scotland; the climate is much the same; and the agricultural products nearly the same. The comparison is not confused with products or employments connected with husbandry, not common to both countries. Where wine, or silk, as in the south of Europe,—or timber, tar, and potash, as in the north,—enter into the list of agricultural products, or give beneficial employment and profit to the small farmer, the comparison is less clear and distinct than with Flanders, in which the crops, and employments furnished by the land, are the same in kind as in England or Scotland.

Will any Scotch farmer, "of capital and skill," from

the Lothians, venture to say that he has his farm of 200 or 300 acres in such good heart, in such a clean garden-like condition, so free from weeds, and carrying, all over it, such luxuriant crops, and producing so much food per acre for man and beast, as an equal number of the acres now before me in this tract of country? Has any farmer in Scotland or England such crops of red clover, lucerne, and other green succession-crops, as are now, in spring, being cut, or coming on for being cut, in succession, on these small patches of farms, for the summer stall-feeding of cattle in the house? There are no cattle in the fields, and no pasture-fields for them, in the ordinary course of husbandry, on these small estates. All are kept in-doors, in summer as well as in winter; and all the land, not in grain crops, is under green crops, for their support. The fodder is cut and carried to the cattle, fresh, twice a-day, and the cutting and carrying employs the whole family. This stall-feeding of cattle all summer in-doors, and the saving thereby of the manure, which is the object of it, during six months of the year in which the manure is positively thrown away by our system of pasturage in fields of permanent, or of second or third year's sown grass, is a husbandry scarcely known among our large farmers. It may, indeed, be reasonably doubted if it would be practicable on a large farm. To cut and carry green fodder for half a dozen cattle, by the labour of the family, is an operation very different in expense from hiring labour to cut and carry the whole summer fodder of the cattle-stock of a large farm. In gardening and husbandry, and even in trade and manufactures, there are operations which are practicable and profitable on a small scale, but

which would not be so on a great scale; and many answer well on a great scale, which would not answer at all in a small way. It will not be denied that this summer stall-feeding, whether practicable or not on a great scale, produces more manure from the land, than if the land were given up to pasture every fourth or fifth year, or oftener, according to the rotation of crops on the farm. Except the portion of its grass made into hay for winter fodder, none of the produce of the pastured land of a large farm is converted into manure that is profitable; for the manure dropped about by cattle grazing over a field, is altogether lost, and unprofitable for the land. On every large farm under what is called a good rotation of crops, one-fourth or one-fifth of its arable land is out of cultivation every year from want of manure, and yet is producing none. Manure, abundance of manure, is allowed by all to be the basis of agricultural prosperity, either to the individual farmer or to the country; and although lime, bone-dust, or guano, may raise great crops, unless the crops so raised produce manure, additional manure to the dunghill and the fields, the land of a farm, or of a garden, or of a country, cannot be kept in heart, and these expensive applications turn out a short-lived delusion. If the farmer were to apply bone-dust or guano to raise a turnip crop, and, instead of converting his fine turnip crop into manure for his farm, by keeping a suitable winter stock of cattle to consume it, if he were to cart one-fourth of his turnips into the sea, would not his neighbours pronounce the man mad? Yet in what is he more mad than the farmer who has one-fourth of his farm every year under grass, and, instead of turning the whole of the produce of this area of land

into manure, by stall-feeding cattle with the green crops which might be raised in succession upon it, throws away one-half or two-thirds of its surface by pasturing cattle over it all summer? Excepting the portion of it cut for hay, as the first year's sown grass, the whole produce of the rest, that is of the fields in second and third year's grass, might as well be carted into the sea, as far as regards the production of manure for the farm. It may be practically true, that the sowing a succession of green crops for summer fodder for cattle in the stall, the cutting, carrying, tending, cleaning, may not be profitable, nor even possible, unless we are talking of a cow-feeder's stock of half-a-dozen cattle and sheep, and may be utter nonsense if applied to the fields and farm stock of a large farm of two or three hundred acres. But if the whole area of a country, its whole arable surface, be occupied and cultivated in such garden-beds, and the whole kept in garden-farms producing such garden-crops, and returning manure sufficient to keep such garden-farms perpetually in heart, and full bearing; this agricultural system is surely more favourable to national wealth and well-being, as far as these are connected with agriculture, than that of large farms occupying the face of the country, and one-fourth of the land that is arable, and only cultivated in its turn, lying waste, and useless, as far as regards the production of manure, and, consequently, of food for man, and merely grazed over, from the want of manure to keep it, like a garden, in a state of constant productiveness. The stock of cattle and of people will be greater under this garden-cultivation of a country; and the same principle, viz., the visible amount of food for a given

number and no more, either of cattle or of people, will keep the stock of both within the limits of a profitable and suitable subsistence on each little farm. The luxuriance of the crops here, in Flanders, shows that the stock of cattle producing manure must be greater, or the manure must be better preserved, than in our large-farm husbandry; for no such crops can be seen with us, unless on some small pet field. The clean state of the crops, not a weed in a mile of country, for they are all hand-weeded out of the land, and applied for fodder or manure; the careful digging of every corner which the plough cannot reach; the head-lands, and ditch-slopes down to the water edge, and even the circle round single trees close up to the stem, being all dug, and under crop of some kind,—show that the stock of people to do all this minute hand-work must be very much greater than the land employs with us. The rent-paying farmer, on a nineteen years' lease, could not afford eighteen pence or two shillings a-day of wages for doing such work, because it never could make him any adequate return. But to the owner of the soil it is worth doing such work by his own and his family's labour at odd hours, because it is adding to the perpetual fertility and value of his own property. He may, apparently, be working for a less return than ordinary day's wages; and, it may be, is making but a bare subsistence, worse than that of a hired farm-servant, or a labourer on day's wages on a large farm; but, in reality, his earnings are greater than those of any hired servant or labourer, however well paid, because they are invested in the improvement of his own land, and in the continual advance of his own condition by its increasing fertility, in consequence of his labour be-

stowed on it. His piece of land is to him his savings bank, in which the value of his labour is hoarded up, to be repaid to him at a future day, and secured to his family after him. He begins with a potato-bed on the edge of a rough barren piece of land, and with the miserable diet it affords him; but, the land being his own, he gets on, by the application of his labour to it, to crops of rye, wheat, flax, sown grasses, and to the comforts of a civilised subsistence. Where land, whether it be a single farm, a district, or a whole country, has not merely to produce food, fuel, clothing, lodging, in short, subsistence in a civilised way, to those employed on it, but also a rent to great proprietors, and a profit to large farmers, the tenants of the landowners, it is evident that only the land of the richest quality can be let for cultivation, and can afford employment. What cannot afford rent to the landlord, and profit to the tenant, as well as a subsistence to the labourer, cannot be taken into cultivation at all, until the better sort of land becomes so scarce that the inferior must be resorted to, and, from the scarcity and consequent dearness of the better, can afford a rent and profit also. This appears to be the glimmering of meaning in the foggy theory of rent given us by our great political economists. They forget that God Almighty did not create the land for the purpose of paying rents to country gentlemen, and profits to gentlemen-farmers, but to subsist mankind by their labour upon it; and that a very large proportion of the land of this world, which never could be made to feed the labourers on it, and to yield besides a surplus of produce affording rent and profits to another class, could very well subsist the labourers, and in a com-

fortable civilised way too, if that were all it had to do. It could produce to them food, fuel, clothing, lodging, or value equivalent to these requirements of a civilised subsistence, but could not produce a surplus for rent, and profit, over and above their own civilised subsistence. The labour applied to such land is not thrown away, or unreproductive; it is adding every year to national wealth and well-being, although not producing rent and profits, because it is gradually fertilising the soil of the country, is feeding the population of small landowners working upon it, and supporting them in a civilised and assured mode of subsistence, which is gradually improving with the improvement of the soil.

What a cackling and braying, some forty years ago, at agricultural dinners, farmers' clubs, and county meetings, about Scotch farming! From Thurso-water to the river Trent, the land resounded with the praises of Scotch farming, Scotch leases, and Scotch rents. The Sir Johns and Sir Josephs of those days, with a board of agriculture at their tails, were flapping their wings and screaming with delight at the vast improvements to be effected by the Scotch system of land-letting and farming. If printed paper were as good to lay upon land as bone-dust or guano, —and probably it may,—a large proportion of the arable land of the united kingdoms might have been top-dressed with agricultural reports, transactions of the honourable board, farmers' journals, and treatises on Scotch husbandry. Improving is one thing, improvement is another; and the two do not always run together abreast, or follow each other in tandem. What has been the improvement, what the benefit to

the great mass of the people of Scotland, by this improving? Rents, it will at once be answered, have been doubled, trebled, quadrupled, since it began, some sixty years ago; and as the large farmers, or tenants of adequate capital and skill, who pay those increased rents, are also making greater profits, as well as their landlords higher rents, it is evident that the land is now sending greater quantities of food to market, that there is a corresponding improvement, in short, in the productiveness of the land; and Swift or Burke has told us, that he is a benefactor of mankind, and has accomplished a great improvement for society, who makes two ears of corn grow where only one grew before. But softly. Let us examine this proposition. What is pithily said is not therefore necessarily true. One should be always on his guard against these well-said and pithily expressed sayings. Unless in mathematics and religion, there is no squeezing a general truth into the nut-shell of an axiom. Swift or Burke, or whoever said it, forgot, that unless those who raise the two ears of corn can also eat them, or enjoy, at least, a part and portion in them, it is no improvement in their condition, and they are the great mass of the population of a country, but only a benefit and improvement to the small body of landowners, and great tenants, to whom the corn belongs. The labourer in Virginia, or Carolina, has no benefit from his master's raising two hogsheads of tobacco or rice, where only one was produced before. This additional productiveness is no improvement in his lot or condition, whether he be slave or free. He is not better fed, clothed, lodged, or remunerated with higher wages, in consequence of it. Is the Scotch labourer in husbandry better fed,

lodged, or clothed now, than he was sixty years ago, although the rents and profits of landlords and tenants have doubled, trebled, or quadrupled? This additional gain from the land is an improvement only to those who, as landlords, large farmers, factors, lawyers, bankers, are connected with the manufacture of food from land. But what are those classes, compared to the great mass of the population of Scotland? The class of landed proprietors in Scotland does not, it is said, exceed five or six thousand individuals, and probably all who derive any direct benefit by this improvement will not amount to a hundred thousand persons in a population of two millions five hundred thousand. Of what benefit is it to the remaining two millions four hundred thousand, that three or four times as much grain is raised and sent to market, if only half as many of them are employed and subsisted by raising it, as lived from the land before this improvement in agriculture? Ireland is a pregnant instance of a country raising, and exporting to market, — even in the midst of the unprecedented famine of 1847, in which thousands of the people perished from want or deficiency of food, — vast quantities of agricultural produce; and of landlords, in ordinary years, deriving great rents, and large farmers, factors, agents, lawyers, deriving great profits, directly or indirectly, from the land of Ireland; and yet the great mass of the population steeped in misery and poverty, and in food, clothing, and lodging, sunk far below the standard of a civilised subsistence.

Many Irish landlords believe, and act upon the belief, that the redemption of Ireland from her present wretched social condition, is to be found in the

introduction of the Scotch system of large farms, occupied by tenants of capital and skill giving employment to the population as agricultural labourers. The legislature and many enlightened men in England entertain the same idea. The difficulty of getting rid of the small tenants who now fill the land, and are too numerous to be employed and absorbed in the large-farm system, is the only impediment and obstacle to its general adoption; and yet, with singular inconsistency, those Irish landlords who are taking the most vigorous and effective measures for introducing that system of large-farm occupancy on their estates, by ejecting and clearing their land of the small cottar tenants, are universally condemned, and held up to public reprobation, by those very persons, journalists and political economists, who approve and recommend the principle, and the introduction of large-farm occupancy, as the only salvation of Ireland. This inconsistency shows that there must be something wrong in a theory which is so universally approved of in the abstract, yet so universally condemned by the secret instinct of good sense and right feeling of the public mind, when the very first step is taken by any individual landlord in Ireland to bring the theory into practice on his estate. Let us look, then, a little into the theory and practical results of this system of agricultural improvement in Scotland, and examine more closely its true bearing on the social condition and well-being of the great mass of the population. What is its object? What the means to obtain that object? What the result?

The object is clear enough: it is to increase the quantity of the marketable produce of the land or farm which is in the course of being improved, and

thereby to increase its rent, and, at the same time, the profit to the rent-payer or farmer.

Now for the means. There are two distinct means to attain this object, with totally distinct effects on the wealth and well-being of a nation, although practical farmers, agricultural writers, and even political economists, generally blend the two together. The one is to give greater fertility to the soil, by more careful and skilful cultivation of it, and thus to increase the quantity of its marketable produce. This is unquestionably adding to the wealth of a nation—this improvement of its soil. The only mistake here is, that it is assumed, without proof, and without reference to the husbandry of other countries, that this improvement can only be effected by large capitals applied to large farms; and that farms of from three or four hundred a-year of rent to a thousand or fifteen hundred a-year must, in the nature of things, be better farmed—better ploughed, drained, manured, cleaned, and cultivated—than the same land would be in small farms held in property by small farmers. Now this assumption is not only not proved, but is directly contradicted by the garden-like cultivation of all this country of Flanders, and of Belgium, Holland, Friesland, Holstein, and wheresoever small farms in the hands of a class of working peasant-proprietors cover the face of the land. It stands indeed to reason that no large farm (suppose one, for instance, of five hundred acres) can, by dint of capital and hired labour, be made literally a garden in productiveness, in the cropping, cleaning, weeding, manuring, and cultivation of it; but the five hundred acres could be made into a hundred gardens of five acres each, and each dug, raked, manured, weeded,

and cropped, by the family it supports, and each as productive as any kitchen garden or market garden, —a productiveness which no large farm ever can approach, because, as stated before, hired labour could not be applied to such minute cultivation of ordinary crops, and leave a surplus for rent and profits to a landlord and tenant, besides the hire and subsistence of the labourer. The wretched cultivation of small tenant-farms in Ireland, and in Scotland before the small tenants were ejected, and the land brought into the large-farm occupancy, is generally adduced as proof undeniable that small farms are incompatible with good husbandry, and with bringing the land of a country to its utmost productiveness and fertility. But it only proves that the tenure of a small farm held from year to year, or even for a term of years, at a heavy rent, and under services of time and labour to the landlord, tacksman, or middleman, is essentially different from that of a small farm held in property by the farmer himself, and for which he has neither rent nor services to pay; and that this difference is a bar to all industry or improvement by the class of small tenant farmers in Ireland or Scotland, because rent rising, in proportion to any improvement made, at the end of each lease or term of years, would swallow up all that industry might produce. The small tenant-farmer, in fact, would be only working against himself, and for the purpose of raising his own rent, and deteriorating his own condition at a future day by his industry and improvements. It only proves the essential difference in the condition of the two classes of small peasant-proprietors and peasant-tenants; and that the moral stimulus of giving his own time and labour to

the improvement of his own property, will make the peasant-proprietor cultivate and improve land which cannot afford rent and profit to a landlord and tenant, although it yields a subsistence, improving yearly, to himself as labourer; and that the want of this moral stimulus of a property in his land and labour, makes the peasant-tenant, on the finest soils in Ireland and Scotland, slothful, unimproving, and starving. This essential difference is very strikingly brought out in Ireland and Flanders. The peasant-tenants of small farms in Ireland are sunk in misery. The peasant-proprietors in Flanders, on soil originally inferior, working on their own little farms on their own account, from generation to generation, have brought them to a garden-like fertility and productiveness, and have made the whole face of the country a garden, and a pattern to Europe. Is there any reasonable ground for drawing a sweeping conclusion against the occupancy of a country by small peasant-proprietors, from the condition or husbandry of a class so entirely different in their circumstances, motives of action, and social position, as the small peasant-tenants of Ireland or Scotland?

The other means of increasing the quantity of marketable produce of an improved farm, or one in the course of being improved on the Scotch system, is to consume less of the farm produce in raising it, and having, consequently, more of it to send to market. To economise labour, in short, is the main object of by far the greater part of what is called "agricultural improvement" in Scotland, or "the Scotch system of farming" in England. But in this kind of improvement, national wealth and well-being have no part, interest, or benefit whatsoever, unless the labour

superseded, or economised, can be beneficially employed in some other branch of industry. If this labour be merely turned out to starve in the high roads or the streets, or to be maintained in the workhouse, without employment, the advantage to the nation of such improvement is somewhat doubtful. The productiveness being the same, whether the quantity produced be consumed by the population employed in producing it, or whether it be sent to the market-town to be sold, it feeds only the same number of mouths in different localities and occupations. It is but a class question. It is the same quantity of human food subsisting the same number of human beings. It would be necessary to prove, if this kind of agricultural improvement is held to be an augmentation of our national wealth, and well-being, that this number of people is employed more beneficially for themselves, and the country, in the towns — that is, in manufacturing industry — than in raising their own food, and ameliorating the soil of the country, by their labour; and to prove that the real wealth, strength, and well-being of a nation are increased by this forced increase of manufacturing labourers in the population, and this forced diminution of the proportion of the population subsisted by agricultural labour. To the employers, both in manufactures and agriculture, it is, no doubt, an advantage: but what is it to the employed? This saving of labour is the main branch of the Scotch system of agricultural improvement. It is the main element in the higher rents to the landlord, and greater profits to the tenants: but to the great mass of the community, — to the labouring population, — what is its benefit? It is, in truth, but a class-advantage, — an advantage to the employers,

in which the well-being of the employed has no share. Their labour, whether manufacturing or agricultural, is not more in demand, surely, by this economising of their labour in that greatest branch of human employment, the cultivation of the soil; nor is their means of obtaining the food and necessaries of a civilised subsistence by their labour increased by this abridgment of the permanent employment and living of labourers on the land. The labourers dispensed with in husbandry, by this kind of improvement, are necessarily forced into the towns to seek a subsistence at any rate of wages that will keep body and soul together; and this excess of the supply of labour forced into the labour-market, necessarily reduces the value of labour in manufacturing work, even in work of skill, below the standard of a civilised subsistence, and fosters over-production in every branch of manufacture, by the cheapness of the wages of the manufacturing operatives. The agricultural and manufacturing capitalists play admirably into each other's hands, and talk and write admirably about wages being the value of labour in a free labour-market; but which free labour-market is kept always full to excess, by forcing agricultural labour into it, and thus reducing wages to the lowest rate at which the human animal can exist. But of what benefit is this to any but landlords, and master-manufacturers? Are the people better off for being driven from the land, and forced to seek a subsistence by labour in the towns, and factories, already over-supplied with labourers; or is it only two classes of the community who are better off by it? Is there any want of hands in any branch of manufacturing industry, that makes it a national gain to employ and subsist fewer by agricul-

tural, and more by manufacturing, labour? Whether fully or profitably employed or not, the agricultural labourer earns his own subsistence, at least, by his own work, which the manufacturing labourer cannot always do. To subsist the labouring population of a country in an assured and civilised way, — not to turn their labour into a profit for their employers only, — is, or should be, the great aim of political economy.

Scotland has now enjoyed, for more than half a century, this improving process; and what is called the Scotch system of land-letting, and farming, has extended over the whole country. What has been the improvement, physical or moral, in the condition of the great mass of her population? Rents of land, it is true, have doubled, trebled, quadrupled; and the agricultural population being driven into the towns, — Glasgow, Edinburgh, Paisley, Greenock, Dundee, Aberdeen, — have doubled, trebled, quadrupled. The aggregate population of these six towns alone has risen, since 1801, from 262,274 souls, to 665,967 in 1841. Are not these towns great social excrescences in a country with only 2,620,000 inhabitants? In 1841 it was reckoned that there were only 141,243 families employed in agriculture, which, at four and a half persons for each family, would amount to an agricultural population, in all Scotland, of 636,093 persons, or somewhat less than the population of six of her towns. Is this a sound and wholesome distribution of employment and population in a country? Is it from want of land that so few families are subsisted by agricultural employment? The total area of Scotland is estimated at 20,586,880 acres, of which 9,039,930 are considered not susceptible of cultivation,

being lakes, mountain-tops, rocks, &c.; and of the remaining 11,546,950 acres, 5,485,000 acres are cultivated, and 6,061,950 acres are uncultivated, the latter, however, yielding rent and profit, as sheep-farms, shooting-grounds, or deer-preserves, although not yielding employment and subsistence, as in former times, when the Highlands were a peopled country. There appears to be but one family employed in Scotland on every eighty-two acres of the land capable of cultivation, and only one employed for every thirty-nine acres of the actually cultivated land. The great question here belongs to a higher science than political economy — to social philosophy. It is not whether more or better agricultural produce is sent to market by the one system than by the other, but whether it be a better social arrangement for the permanent well-being of a nation, that six hundred thousand only, of a population of two millions and a half, should be employed on the cultivation of the land of a country, and the rest of the mass of its working population be dependent, for the means to buy subsistence, on the manufacture and sale of cotton, iron, and other goods, for distant, foreign, and uncertain markets; or whether it would be a better arrangement of society, that the land of the country should employ and subsist the mass of its inhabitants, and only the smaller proportion be altogether dependent for employment, and food, on the sale, in the foreign or even in the home market, of the products of their work.

If the moral and sanitary condition of a people be an element in their well-being as important as their mode of earning a subsistence, and very closely connected with it, the statistical facts illustrative of that condition are not favourable to the system which has

heaped up large masses of the population of Scotland into the towns. In 1841 the population of Scotland, 2,620,184 persons, consumed 5,595,186 gallons of spirits, while the 14,995,138 persons of the English population consumed only one-third more, viz. 7,956,054 gallons; and the 8,175,124 of Irish people consumed less than the two and a-half millions of Scotch people, viz. 5,200,650 gallons. In Edinburgh, in 1846, there were 986 houses licensed for the sale of spirits; that is, of every thirty-one houses in Edinburgh, one is a spirit-shop, and 434 of these are open on Sundays for the sale of spirits. In religious Edinburgh, it was stated by one of the magistrates in the Town Council, the sum spent in Sunday-drinking in the course of the year amounts to 112,840*l.*, or about 2,170*l.* is spent on each of the fifty-two sabbaths of the year in drinking whisky or other spirits. Well done, religious Edinburgh! Petition, by all means, against the desecration of the Sabbath-day in England by railway-travelling, and Post-Office work, for it is unquestionably a great social, moral, and religious evil—but pluck the beam out of your own eye! 2,170*l.* sterling, spent in sabbath-day whisky-drinking, is the measure—the gauger's test—of the moral, sanitary, and religious condition of Edinburgh, every sabbath in the year! And, in proportion to population, every town in Scotland is a *fac-simile* of Edinburgh! The social well-being produced by this improvement of driving the population from the land into the towns, appears somewhat doubtful in the face of such statistical facts! It appears to be an improvement of the wealth of the few, at the cost of the well-being, morals, and health of the many!

During the process of Scotch improvements in

agriculture, while inclosing, draining, and building are going on in an improving district, a temporary increase of employment is, no doubt, given to the labourers in it; and this has been laid hold of in describing the condition of some districts, as Sutherlandshire, and stated to the public as a vindication of the system of large-farm occupancy, and a proof that the agricultural population is not diminished by it. But the end and object of this temporary employment of labour is, to enable the farmer to do with as little labour afterwards as possible, to save labour, to keep and pay as few labourers on his farm as possible. Suppose the improving to be finished, the land inclosed, drained, farm-houses and offices built, and the estate let to tenants of capital and skill, and all in best East Lothian trim: suppose it is an estate of 4000*l.* a year; this would be about 1600 acres of land, let on an average at fifty shillings per acre, and divided into eight farms of the average size of 200 acres, and of the average rent of 500*l.* each. This is below, not above, the average size and rent of arable farms in the best and most improved districts of the south of Scotland. Now, the farmer of 200 acres will not keep so many as ten farm-servants all the year round, will he? Four, and a boy and a girl, would perhaps be nearer the number. But at some seasons he will have more, and at other seasons fewer hands. Suppose he employs occasionally in the course of the year, as at harvest-time, turnip-hoeing, and such seasons, as much labour as might amount to the entire subsistence of ten hands all the year round, and then we have only eighty people kept on this estate of 4000*l.* a year; and these mostly single wandering men or girls, without any property but their half-year's fee as

farm-servants, and without house or home, but shifting from one farmer's *bothy* to another every half-year, and living in these *bothys* with less of domestic habits, ties, or comforts, than the farmers' pigs.

Now take under your eye a space of land here in Flanders, that you judge to be about 1600 acres. Walk over it, examine it; every foot of the land is cultivated, dug with the spade or hoe, where horse and plough cannot work, and all is in crop, or in preparation for crop. In our best-farmed districts, there are corners and patches in every field, lying waste and uncultivated, because the large rent-paying farmer cannot afford hired labour, superintendence, and manure, to such minute portions of land, and garden-like work, as the owner of a small piece of land can bestow on every corner and spot of his own property. Here the whole 1600 acres must be in garden-farms of five or six acres; and it is evident that in the amount of produce from the land, in the crops of rye, wheat, barley, rape, clover, lucerne, and flax for clothing material, which are the usual crops, the 1600 acres, under such garden-culture, surpass the 1600 acres under large-farm cultivation, however good, as much as a kitchen-garden surpasses in productiveness a common field. On the 1600 acres here in Flanders, or Belgium, instead of eight farmers with their eighty farm-servants, there will be from 300 to 320 families, or from 1400 to 1600 individuals, each family working its own piece of land, and with some property in cows, sheep, pigs, utensils, and other stock in proportion to their land, and with constant employment and a secure subsistence on their own little estates. This is surely a happier social condition than that of the population of Scotland with

its five or six thousand great landowners, its flourishing large farmers, its wealthy master manufacturers, its thriving merchants, agents, lawyers, bankers, —and all the population, whether connected or not connected with land, below those few thousands of individuals, earning a scanty and precarious subsistence, and always on the verge of destitution, and misery. It is not that a duke has 50,000*l.* a year, but that a thousand fathers of families have 50*l.* a year, that is true national wealth and well-being.

CHAP. III.

NOTES ON THE THEORY OF POPULATION AND FOOD INCREASING IN DIFFERENT RATIOS. — THE RELATIVE INCREASE OF POPULATION AND FOOD STATED DIFFERENTLY. — LAND TO PRODUCE FOOD ARTIFICIALLY, NOT NATURALLY, SCARCE FOR THE SUBSISTENCE OF ITS POPULATION. — OVER-POPULATION ONLY RELATIVE TO UNDER-PRODUCTION FROM CONVENTIONAL CAUSES. — ON THE OVER-POPULATION OF IRELAND. — ON THE SIZE OF FARMS IN IRELAND. — ON THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF CONVERTING THE SMALL IRISH FARMS INTO FARMS OF A SIZE FOR SCOTCH FARMING. — ON THE REMEDIES PROPOSED FOR THE OVER-POPULATION OF IRELAND. — ON FISHERIES. — ON FACTORIES. — ON EMIGRATION.

Is there not great danger, in the small-estate occupancy of the land of a country, that population will rapidly outgrow subsistence, that the land will be divided and sub-divided by each succeeding generation of the small peasant-proprietors, until, at last, it will be frittered down, like the con-acres of the Irish cotters, into portions too small to subsist the population in a civilised way? What are the preventive checks which hinder, in such a social state, Flanders, Switzerland, Norway, or the many districts of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, in which the land has, from the most remote times, been in the hands of small working-proprietors, from presenting at the present day a counterpart of the present social state of Ireland? These are questions requiring a long, and perhaps tedious, discussion to answer — but they are very important.

Political economists tell us that population increases

faster than food; that the population of a country increases in the ratio of a geometrical progression, doubling itself at certain times in a series of years, while their food increases only in the ratio of an arithmetical progression. The one goes on as 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64; the other only as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, in the same series of years. The idea of the different ratios by which population and food increase, was originally thrown out by Voltaire, and was picked up and expanded into many a goodly volume by our English political economists, in the present century. It is so universally received as a great fundamental truth, a law of nature, discovered by Malthus, and has been so fully examined and discussed by the ablest men of the age, that it would be great presumption to doubt the truth of this theory of the different ratios of the increase of population and subsistence. Yet, somehow, this great truth has not been got at in a way satisfactory to common minds. Without presuming to doubt the truth of a theory so universally received, or the correctness of the result, I will venture to explain why the way of getting at it is not adapted to ordinary reasoners. When we compare two things together we must begin, in strict reasoning and correct statement, with reducing both to a common term; to a common weight, for example, if it be their bulks we are comparing; or to a common bulk, if it be their weights. This is the usual process in the vulgar mind, and even in the philosophic; and in chemistry, and the physical sciences, as well as the mathematical. Now, without presuming to question the reasoning of Voltaire—and still less of Malthus, and the many able political economists who have adopted the idea

of Voltaire, and made it their own—I would venture to point out that, in arriving at this truth, they have not followed this strict and vulgar, but only accurate, process in reasoning. They do not bring the two things they are comparing—the increase of population, and the increase of food, in a given period—to a common term. They do not take the increase of population (for example, and to explain my meaning) in one year, which at its most rapid rate, and when it is doubling itself every 20 years, is but five per cent. of increase each year,—and compare that with the increase of subsistence from the crop of one year, which, at its lowest rate of increase, that is, with the worst husbandry, seasons, and crops, will always be three returns and the seed upon an average over a whole country, or 300 per cent. They take the accumulation of population in 20 years, and compare that with the increase of one year's crop above the amount of the preceding year's crop—of the twentieth year's crop above the nineteenth year's crop only. The two things to be compared—the progress of the production of subsistence, and that of the production of population—are not reduced here to a common term of 20 years, but only one of the two things is brought to that term. To state the question accurately, we should, I conceive, take an unit of population increasing at its most rapid rate, that is, doubling itself every 20 years. This average unit becomes two in 20 years; there are two units to subsist where there was but one, twenty years before. This is the amount of the accumulation of population at the end of this period; and it is represented by this unit. Now, suppose this representative unit consumes each year five quarters of grain, and that this quantity, which re-

presents the food or subsistence of this unit, was sown the first year of this series of 20 years, and each year of the 20 thereafter, and that the crops averaged three returns besides the seed and this unit's five quarters of yearly subsistence. The amount of this accumulation of subsistence in the course of twenty years, from the five bolls representing the unit, would, in a strict and correct statement of the question, be the increase on the food side of it, to be compared with the increase of population from the unit in the same space of 20 years on the population side of it. The increase of population, in the series or term of the 20 years, is 1 plus 1. The population, or number of its units, is doubled. The increase of subsistence from the five quarters of grain representing this unit on the food side of the question, would, at the end of the series of 20 years, be some trifle more than twenty-six thousand one hundred and fifty millions of quarters of grain, after deducting yearly the five quarters for the unit's subsistence, and the seed for each crop. But grain is perishable. Land and labour cannot be applied to the production of more of the perishable articles of subsistence than what can be required for consumption before a new crop gives a new supply. True. But the question is not whether grain, and other articles of human food, be perishable, or the land capable of producing those articles be more or less scarce in any particular district or country, — but whether, as an abstract proposition in social philosophy, it is or is not a law of nature, that population, *per se*, has in it an element of increase more rapid than subsistence *per se*. In the human food derived from the vegetable productions of the earth, in a given period of twenty years, the excess of the production of subsistence over

the production of population seems almost incalculable. In America, where land is not scarce, this excess is evident, although population increases there so rapidly. In Africa, where the surplus grain of each crop is preserved, it is said, in granaries dug in the sands, — and in the cold regions in the north of Europe, where, owing to the early frosts, one full crop out of seven is all that can be reckoned on,—the excess of the production of food, over the production of population, is proved by the surplus of food produced from one average crop being reserved for a succession of seven years of no crops. It seems indeed, *à priori*, a common-sense arrangement of Divine Providence, that the natural increase of subsistence should exceed the natural increase of population; and the reverse would be contrary to what human reason might expect from the Divine wisdom and goodness, and the beneficent operations of Providence in all other laws of nature affecting human existence. True it is, that land, to produce subsistence, may be scarce in proportion to the population of some particular district or country; but that is a totally different question from that of the natural ratios of increase of subsistence and population. Land may be artificially scarce, or deficient in giving subsistence, in many countries, and not naturally so. It may be scarce from a faulty distribution of it through the social body, or it may be deficient from bad cultivation, or from total neglect of cultivation; but from these artificial or fortuitous causes of subsistence not keeping pace with population, it is not sound reasoning to deduce a law of nature. No region of the earth is peopled up to its full capability of subsisting man, where no conventional obstacles oppose production. Lapland within, and

adjacent to, the Polar Circle, affords a striking instance of this truth in social economics. According to a Report of Count Douglas to the Swedish Government, upon the population of one district in that region, only three families were subsisted in it by agricultural labour in 1696. The rest of the population consisted of Laplanders wandering with their herds of reindeer in the hills. In 1766 the number of settled agricultural families had increased to 330, or 1650 individuals; and in 1799 the number in that district, subsisting by agriculture, was 6,049 families, and without diminution of the Lapland population, or their means of subsistence. Such is the capability of the earth, even in the polar regions, to produce subsistence for any natural increase of population. It is only a forced or artificially produced increase of population, for which subsistence may be deficient. The invasion of an army, the influx of immigrants into any small locality, the rapid establishment of manufactures for the supply of foreign markets, the rapid increase of town-populations by forcing labour from earning a living in husbandry, to employment or starvation in factories dependent on extraneous or casual demand, may produce such an artificial increase of population beyond the means of subsistence; and the faulty distribution and use of the land may, as in Ireland, curtail the natural means of the country to subsist its population. But such effects of a highly artificial state of society, and landed property, in Scotland, England, and Ireland, do not entitle the political economist to deduce from them a law of nature, and to lay down as an axiom in social philosophy, that population increases more rapidly than subsistence, and that the two would not naturally

keep pace with each other if left to their own action, and not disturbed in their proportional increase relatively to each other, by the intervention of casual and conventional elements encouraging population, and restricting subsistence from the land. In Scotland, it is estimated that more than one half of the land susceptible of cultivation is not cultivated; that of the 11½ millions of acres capable of cultivation, 5½ millions only are cultivated, and 6 millions are not cultivated. And why is this larger half not cultivated in a country of which the agricultural system and agricultural improvements are held up as a model? Simply because it would not repay the expense of inclosing, draining, building houses and offices, and bringing it into the state of rent-paying arable land. It is not of a quality to afford a rent to a landlord, profit to a tenant for his capital and skill, and to replace the outlay of money in its improvement, within any period of a lease. Yet such land would subsist a population of small proprietors working and living upon it. Having neither rent to a landlord, nor profit over and above their subsistence, to produce, they would earn a subsistence, poor and scanty no doubt at first, but gradually improving and increasing with the improvement of the soil by their labour on it. This uncultivated land could employ and subsist as great a body of agricultural labourers, if they were the owners of the land, as all the agricultural labourers employed and subsisted by the other half that is at present cultivated, and paying rent. In England, as in Scotland, as much land in every rural parish is lying useless, in wastes, commons, neglected patches, lanes not required, corners of fields, sides of roads, and such uncultivated spots, as would

keep and endow all the poor of the parish. Of the cultivated land of England, how much is producing little or no employment or subsistence for the population, but is merely under crops of luxury, such as hay and pasture for the pleasure-horses of the upper classes? how much is laid out in parks, lawns, and old grass fields pastured over by cattle, horses, and sheep, roaming at large, and returning no manure of any value to the farmer for their food? and how much arable land, for the want of that very manure, is in naked fallow, bearing no crop, but resting, as it is called, that is, exhausted, and waiting for its turn to receive manure? Over-population is only relative to under-production, consequent on these artificial or conventional circumstances in the use and distribution of land. There is no natural disproportion between the increase of population, and of food for that population, independent of the fortuitous and artificial circumstances increasing the one, and diminishing the other. They would always be in equilibrium with each other, but for such circumstances.

But Ireland! Is not Ireland a pregnant example before our eyes, of the evils of the small-farm system of occupancy? Is not the land there divided and subdivided by each succeeding generation of small farmers, or cotter occupants, until it is frittered down into portions too small to afford a civilised subsistence to the agricultural population; in short, into mere potato-rigs? Let us look a little at the case of Ireland.

According to a statement made by Lord Mountcashel at a public meeting at Cork in 1847, — and apparently derived from the official reports made to

Government,—Ireland contains about 690,000 farms, of which 310,000 are under 5 acres of land each, and 252,000 are between 15 and 30 acres. These are all of the class of small farms, and the farmer on each of these 562,000 small farms will not have less, on an average, than five persons in his family, or on his land as his sub-tenants. There is consequently a population of nearly three millions in Ireland living on small farms, or farms altogether incompatible with the large-farm system of land occupancy, being under 30 acres each in extent. Taking the average size of these small farms even at 17 acres each, they would, at the minimum size of farms on the Scotch farm system of 120 acres (below which extent farm offices, houses, inclosures, and working stock, implements, and skill, could not be afforded), form, if thrown together, 79,616 farms, on which, after the improvement was finished, and the houses and inclosures built, ten labourers on each could not certainly be employed, and subsisted all the year round by agricultural work, and leave a surplus of produce for rent and profit. Suppose, however, ten labourers in husbandry were employed and subsisted on each farm of 120 acres on the large-farm Scotch system, that would only take up about 800,000 of the Irish population. What is to become of the remaining two millions, or two and a half millions, now existing, or rather famishing, on the same arable area? To attempt a change of system in the land occupancy of Ireland by means of emigration, or of town and factory employment, or of fisheries, or by any of those homœopathic remedies proposed for the cure of this great social disease, would be both dangerous and impracticable.

Fisheries require capital, and markets for the fish; the outfit of four fishermen with a boat, nets, lines, and other necessaries, costs from 80*l.* to 120*l.*, and the greater part must be renewed in three years. To fish for food, not for sale, is altogether visionary in sea fisheries; there is a capital to be replaced. Where in Ireland are the consumers with ready money to take off the fish at remunerating prices, and replace the capital invested in boats, nets, sails, and other perishable articles? The philanthropists who talk of the fisheries on the coast of Ireland as a means of employing and absorbing a large proportion, or any proportion, of the pauper unemployed Irish, seem not aware that few trades, or occupations of common labour, require so much capital to begin with, and so much co-operative industry to carry them on, as that of the regular fisherman. The blacksmith, carpenter, tailor, shoemaker, or small farmer, requires but a trifling sum to set him up with the tools and materials of his handicraft, compared to the fisherman, who, at the very outset, must have a boat, nets, lines, and other equipment, to the value of from 80*l.* to 120*l.*,—must have the co-operative labour of four, or perhaps five, men on wages, or as partners, to move his tools of trade,—and must, in the cod or herring fishery, have behind him another class of capitalists, the fish-curers, with from 200*l.* to 300*l.* for each boat in their service, to buy, cure, barrel, and send to market the fish caught. A thousand open boats, fully equipped and provided for the herring fishery, implies a capital of 300,000*l.*, more than half of which is invested in perishable materials, such as nets, lines, sails, barrels; and the most costly of which, the nets, sails, lines, will last with care only

three years, and may be rendered useless in a few hours by neglect or inexperience. And this capital would only employ 5000 fishermen, and about half as many people on shore, and only for six weeks of the herring-fishing season. A class of regular fishermen, living entirely by their trade, belongs, in fact, to a very advanced state of society in which there are many combinations of capital and labour, and not at all to an incipient state of civilisation like that of Ireland. They presuppose the existence of numerous artisans, manufacturers, and tradesmen, earning more than a mere living upon the cheapest products of the soil, and affording a ready market, at remunerating prices, for the kind of food the fishermen produce. They are about the last, and not the first, called into employment in the natural progress of society. From Dover to Thurso, either round the east coast of Great Britain or the west, the number of fishermen employed will be found to correspond, not to their proximity to fishing banks in the sea, but to the markets in the country behind them. It is the Thames that sends out the most numerous, most expert, and best-equipped body of fishermen to the North Sea. The Tyne, the Frith of Forth, the Tay, and coast-side north to the Pentland Frith, support regular fishermen living by their trade, exactly in proportion to the markets behind them. In the northern counties, where there are no minerals or manufactures, and only an agricultural population, few or no regular fishermen are supported, although London fishermen ply their trade within hail of their cottages: there is no market on shore to sustain them. The herring fishery is but a lottery, in which a man may earn a twelvemonth's subsistence by six weeks'

work. They who engage in it in the northern counties of Scotland, depend for subsistence on their farms, not on their fishing; and are neither good farmers, nor expert fishermen. It is a demoralising employment, like all other games or lotteries of chance, and the least suited of any to the Irish temperament. If the philanthropists who talk of subsisting the unemployed Irish population in the neglected fisheries on the Irish coast, mean that each family is to fish for its own food, to sit on the rocks, or in the stern of a punt a few yards from the shore, with a stick, a string, and a crooked pin, and pull up a diet of small fry in the course of the day, to appease their hunger, the advantage of this kind of national fishery for promoting the industry, civilisation, and well-being of the Irish people, above the present dependence on the lazy bed of potatoes for the year's food of the family, is not very apparent. The indigent cotter peasantry are better off as they are; for uncertain as the potato crop may be, it is more certain than wind, weather, and fish to trust to for daily food. The Esquimaux, the people of Terra del Fuego, and even the inhabitants of some of the remote islands on the west and north coasts of Scotland, exhibit the kind of well-being and civilisation of a people who fish for their own food, without markets, or exchange of the products of their industry as fishermen, for those of others. The Irish economists must begin with raising a thriving middle class of tradesmen, manufacturers, and others, who can afford to buy and consume fish, before sending the population to sea to catch fish. It is only where employment in various branches of industry is abundant, and pretty well paid, and employers and employed are in general in a thriving

condition, that a regular market for fish produces a regular class of fishermen earning a civilised subsistence by their trade. A labouring population earning sixpence or eightpence a day, cannot afford to buy fish at a price to support a class of fishermen; the loom must be going, and the hammer ringing on the anvil, before the fishing-boat can be launched.

Factory employment must precede fishery employment; but in Ireland it has to struggle against such difficulties, that any considerable prosperity, giving work and wages, as in England and Scotland, to large masses and proportions of the total population, can scarcely be expected. Want of capital, want of security for capital, want of minerals and of fire-power, want of habits of steady industry and thrift in the people, want of a body of consumers at home, and of a home market, the pre-occupation of all foreign markets by manufacturers, English, German, Belgian, of great skill and capital, and who are in possession of every branch of industry, are obstacles to any very great increase of manufacturing employment and industry in Ireland. She comes too late into the field.

But if neither fisheries nor factories can absorb the overflowing population of Ireland; if their utmost success would only be the addition of two classes more to the social body, with all their own pauperism and misery, without any diminution of the numbers of the main body, and its own quota of pauperism and misery; where is relief to be found? Is it not in emigration — in a comprehensive system of emigration — with government aid? Should not the British fleet, and the public revenues, be applied to the conveyance of the surplus population of Ireland to Canada, the Cape, and Australia? The question

is so generally answered in the affirmative, that any objections are scarcely listened to with patience: yet we must admit that Ireland has enjoyed for five-and-twenty years an emigration to England and Scotland, by steam navigation, far exceeding the numbers that the British navy and the public revenue could transport every year to Canada; and that, notwithstanding this drain from the Irish population, going on night and day across the channel, at the cheapest rate at which passengers can be carried, the diminution of the Irish population remaining behind is not perceptible. The population is even increasing in Ireland, as if no such drain as emigration to England and Scotland existed. This fact must make men of any reflection pause. Our cities filled with Irish emigrants—one-fourth of the total population of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, and other great cities, Irish—yet Ireland still overflowing! There must be some flaw in this generally received opinion, that the social disease of over-population (whether produced by conventional causes of under-production of food, or of want of employment in a country in proportion to its population, or by a law of nature giving different ratios of increase to food and to population) is one that may be cured or alleviated by emigration to our over-sea colonies.

CHAP. IV.

NOTES ON EMIGRATION. — EMIGRATION BY SEA NO REMEDY FOR OVER-POPULATION. — EMIGRATION OF SMALL CAPITALISTS NO RELIEF TO THE COUNTRY. — EXPENSE AND INEFFICIENCY OF EMIGRATION AT THE PUBLIC EXPENSE. — ITS INJUSTICE. — REASONS WHY A POOR MAN SHOULD NOT EMIGRATE — WHY A MAN WITH A LITTLE SAVED CAPITAL SHOULD NOT EMIGRATE. — THE ENGLISH TOO CO-OPERATIVE, AND TOO FAR ADVANCED IN CIVILISATION, TO EMIGRATE WITH ADVANTAGE. — EMIGRATION FROM GERMANY. — LETTERS OF EXPATRIATION.

If we had only to remove, bag and baggage, a few hundred miles by land, as the citizens of America do now, as the Israelites did of old, or as the tribes who overwhelmed the Roman empire did fifteen hundred years ago, carrying wives, children, cattle, goods, and all that is moveable, along with the family-waggons, until we come to a land that appears suitable to settle in, the mother-country would no doubt be relieved of some of the most active and restless, if not of its poorest and most useless, population. But if we consider all that necessarily enters into a great over-sea emigration, either at the expense of government, or of the individuals emigrating, we shall find that this disease of over-population is aggravated, not relieved, and far less healed, by this water-cure remedy, and that emigration by sea actually increases the very evil it proposes to remove. For every thirty families who emigrate by sea from Britain, twice thirty young men and young women are, by the direct effects and immediate consequences of this emigration, brought

into the married state; that is, are placed in a temporary condition of full employment, full wages, and full well-being, for their station in life; and which condition naturally and certainly leads them into marriage and families, and ultimately, and at no very distant interval of time, into that very state of pauperism, and of falling back upon poor-rates for a subsistence, which it is the object of emigration-encouragement to prevent. Let us place the practical working of this Morrison's pill for the cure of overpopulation, fairly before our eyes. Suppose thirty families, or a hundred and fifty individuals — a shipful, in short, of emigrants — embarked for America or Australia. Suppose them fitted out with the very smallest allowance of food, clothes, bedding, utensils, tools, and other necessaries of life, that they can exist with, until their own labour and land begin to support them. If they are not to perish in the forest, they must be provided, at the least, with a stock of all things needful for eighteen months; because, if they go only to Canada, or to the nearest of our American provinces, they arrive too late in the spring to build a habitation, provide fuel, clear land, and sow a crop to be reaped in autumn, in the same year of their departure from the mother country. The seasons are too hasty in America for emigrants to overtake a spring seed-time, after a spring voyage across the Atlantic. A year and a half's stock, therefore, of all things must be laid in at once, within a week or two of the vessel's sailing; that is to say, the expenditure for all kinds of needful articles which would have been spread over a year, or a year and a half, of their existence, but for the emigration of these one hundred and fifty individuals, is thrown at once into two or

three weeks,—thus giving a false stimulus at home in this country, as far as their outfit and expenditure goes, to every branch of manufacturing industry connected with the articles they take with them; and giving thus a false stimulus to population at home, in all those branches of employment. The stimulus is false, because it is no real and permanent increase of consumption, but only a false appearance of an increased consumption, from a year and a half's demand being squeezed into a month's, and thrown at once into the market. In the outfit of one hundred and fifty individuals this may be a trifle; but in the outfit of half a million of emigrants yearly — and less would be no effective diminution of the yearly increase of our population — this stimulus to population by great but temporary employment at home, in all trades connected with their outfit, creates the very evil it is proposed to cure. Now, take the vessel that is to convey the thirty families, or one hundred and fifty individuals, into consideration: reckon up, if you can, the carpenters, smiths, sail-makers, rope-makers, sailcloth-weavers, riggers, founders, coopers, chandlers, bakers, butchers, bankers, merchants, clerks, labourers, seamen, and all the ten thousand and ten trades and ramifications of industry, set agoing, and for a short time beneficially, profitably, and thus with a bounty, as one may say, for those so employed entering into matrimony, from the mere additional employment given by the outfit of this vessel alone, and of her cargo of one hundred and fifty individuals, — and tell me if the exportation of the thirty families, the vacuum they leave, be not overbalanced and filled up, by the stimulus given to marriage and population at home, by "the breeding in all

its branches" encouraged and set agoing by this very remedy for over-population? The families, too, you export are necessarily people of some small capital of their own; or, at least, with health, strength, and capability of work, in them — the very class you do not want to get rid of; and the people you keep at home are the paupers, the infirm, decrepid, sickly, the infants, the aged, and the mass of operatives unfit fo any kind of work but the one particular branch of manufacture they have been bred to in the factory, and which is overstocked with labour — the very class you want to get rid of by emigration, although the least adapted of any class to earn a living, as emigrants, by field labour. Keep down the redundancy of population by encouraging emigration! Reverse the proposition — promote excess of population by encouraging emigration, by giving population the stimulus of emigration-employment, and you come nearer to the true practical working, upon our home population, of any emigration or colonisation scheme, on a great scale, with government aid. The rising flood of population is not to be kept down by the teacupful drainage of ship-emigration. We might as well try to bale out the North Sea into the Atlantic, by sending all the milkmaids in England to dip their pails into the ocean at Flamborough Head and empty them into Plymouth Sound.

The population of Great Britain, according to the ten-yearly census of the last twenty years, seems to be increasing steadily at the rate of nearly 1½ per cent. each year.* The population of the United

* In 1821, the population of the three kingdoms was 21,193,000
In 1841, the population was - - - - 26,916,000
The increase in these 20 years is - 5,723,000.

Kingdoms in 1849 being taken in round numbers at about 28,000,000, we are adding 420,000 people every year to it. The utmost amount of emigration was in the famine year of 1848, when it is reckoned to have been about 270,000 persons*; that is, about two-thirds of the numbers yearly added, on an average, to our population. This would not do. It would not even keep our population stationary in numbers; yet 1848 was a year in which famine in Ireland, and want of employment in all branches of manufacturing industry in England and Scotland, gave the utmost stimulus to emigration by private means. Suppose government were to give the means, and to ship off some 50,000 emigrants every year to Canada at the public expense. Without stopping to inquire whether emigration at private expense, to the extent of 270,000 persons, would take place, in ordinary years, if emigration at public expense to the extent of 50,000 persons was in competition with it, let us look at the effect and working of such a government measure. It is a favourite scheme with country gentlemen both in England and Ireland, is often recommended in Parliament, and well deserves consideration. All British America contains little more than 1½ million of inhabitants; and of these the greater part by far are labouring husbandmen, themselves working upon their own lots of land. The demand for ordinary labour in such a population could not take up 50,000 labourers every year, in addition to their own labour, and subsist them. The majority of the inhabitants subsist themselves by their own labour on the land,

* From 1842 to 1848, seven years, the total emigration was 985,953, or only 140,850 persons yearly, on an average: so that 270,000 emigrants is probably an exaggerated estimate.

and have no subsistence and wages to spare for hired agricultural labourers whom they do not require. The 50,000 emigrants, therefore, must necessarily get land, seed, tools, stock, lodging, and food, until they raise crops by their own labour for their own subsistence. But on the great scale, and even in the case of a single family of emigrants, this crop-raising for their own subsistence could not be accomplished in less than eighteen months from the date of their embarkation from England; and, for that time, the first 50,000 must necessarily be upon the hands of government, for food, fuel, lodging, and all necessary subsistence. Taking into account their food, freight, tools, bedding, clothing, seed, and farm-stock,—all of which must be provided, if the emigrants are of that class whom it is desirable to get rid of, viz., able-bodied, but unemployed, people without capital, who are either paupers, or verging on pauperism, but who could earn their subsistence by work if they had work, — the expense of 50,000 such emigrants for subsistence, and outfit, would be little less than the expense of 50,000 foot soldiers for eighteen months. In any regular scheme of yearly emigration at the public expense, and under government arrangement, a second body of 50,000 emigrants succeeding the first body, must necessarily be afloat, and drawing subsistence from government, before the first 50,000 could by any possibility have reaped a crop to subsist themselves. Nay, a third 50,000 must be on the way, and living on government rations, before the first 50,000 could be altogether independent of such aid, and subsisting from their own crops. Now, to what end would the expense to the country be incurred in feeding, transporting, and settling, in the uncleared land of

Canada, this army of 150,000 emigrants in the course of three years? The increase of our population in that period would, at its present rate, be 1,260,000 souls; and the diminution, by government emigration aid, would be 150,000!—a drop, a mere drop, out of a bucket. And yet what would that drop cost? Compared with such an annual levy of 50,000 emigrants, with their fleet of transports, their commissariat, medical staff, and other indispensable establishments, the crusades of the eleventh century were rational and cheap expeditions for getting rid of over-population. But the emigration scheme under government aid and management proposes, it will be said, no such expensive arrangements. A free, or a cheap, passage to America, is all that it is intended government should give; and the emigrants must provide themselves with land, seed, tools, clothing, and, from the moment they set foot in America, must subsist themselves. But to do this the emigrants government sends away at the public expense, must be of the class of small capitalists, the very class we do not want to get rid of; the very class of whom we have too few, not too many, for they are the class who employ and support the great mass of the half-poor, and the partly infirm and worn-out. The odd jobs and occasional work, about the houses and workshops of this class, exceed, in the amount of subsistence given, all the regular employment in our great factories. Every family in this class has its poor neighbour helping, cleaning, working, and earning victuals, or money, for work; and this class is the great stay and support of the poor, who, from ill-health, or old age, cannot earn full wages, or do a full day's work. They are the barrier against an over-

whelming pauperism in England and Scotland. Sweep the country clean of this class, and you would have nothing left in it but lords, lairds, great capitalists, merchants, and manufacturers on a great scale; and all below them a mass of sheer paupers, ready for tumult, and the most wild outrages upon property; and without a class just above them, and in contact with them, who have property, however small, to defend, and are as able and as ready to support, as the turbulent to overthrow, the established order of society. Besides, people with means of their own to provide land, seed, implements, farm-stock, clothing, and food to subsist on until a crop is produced, are not paupers; and to give them a free passage to Canada at the expense of other people—that is, out of the taxes of the country—would be a monstrous injustice to other people, since they can afford to pay for their passage themselves. But to give the actual able-bodied pauper, the willing working-man in a state of destitution, a free passage to Canada, without giving him work there, or means to earn a subsistence by his work on a lot of land of his own, to set him on the shore with a biscuit in his pocket, would be a mere political-economy murder. In a country in which all the husbandmen are labourers themselves, the common labourer in husbandry is not required, unless perhaps by a new and speculative farmer here and there. The surplus of crop on the small spaces cleared for cultivation, and its value at market, do not afford wages to hired labourers for prospective improvements. The wages expended in clearing a piece of land by hired labour, cannot be replaced by the produce of that land in less than three years; and the prudent settlers, therefore, do the work by little and

little, and by their own labour and that of their families. In common humanity such an emigrant, sent out at the expense of the country, must be provided with land, seed, tools, and eighteen months' subsistence. If not, he must starve; and better for him, and cheaper for the country, to let him starve of cold and hunger under the lee of a hedge at home in England, than under the lee of a pine-tree in America.

Let no poor man emigrate in search of employment. The labour market in such a state of society as that of an agricultural colony, in which every settler is himself a labourer, working for his own subsistence, on his own lot of land, and with no capital, in general, to pay wages with but his growing crops, is necessarily very limited, and easily overstocked. The high wages, the three, four, and five shillings a day, for common labour, or ordinary handicraft-work, which the crimps of the land companies talk of, and advertise, and write home about, are barefaced deceptions. What are the products of any of our colonies, that can afford such wages? Is it wheat, or timber, or wool, that can afford five shillings a day for common labour in producing them, or working about them, or that can enable the owner of them to pay high wages continually, for any kind of work, however much he may require it? A rate of wages, higher than the value of the products of a colony to the producers can afford, is no safe ground for a working-man to emigrate upon. Such rates soon find their true level; and that is, a bare subsistence for part of the year, and in the winter half-year, or when a job of work is finished, no wages, and no out-door work to be found within a hundred miles. It is only in a dense population, with classes too opulent to work themselves, that a working-

man can find steady employment. He can find none in a population of small proprietors, working themselves with their families on their own land, and requiring no hired labourers for its cultivation, and with no means to pay them if they did require them.

Let no prudent working-man, who has saved a little money—from thirty or forty to two or three hundred pounds—emigrate to any of these flash colonies patronised by government and advertised by land companies, because he hears land is cheap and good. I will give him good reasons why. The working-class emigrant, with his little saved capital, invested in a lot of land in any of these colonies, has not the means to pay for religion, education, law, police; not to mention roads, bridges, and all the other public establishments and works required in a new country. He is labouring with his axe and hoe from morn to night, in the bosom of the forest, and has no means to establish these; yet these, be it remembered, are as necessary as food and raiment to the existence of a civilised labouring man. Is the emigrant to pay for all these by colonial taxation? Then what is his lot of land to cost his family, in the course of two generations? Is he to pay for all these in the first cost of his land, the twenty pounds per acre paid to the land company at home for his lot? Then on what principle is he made to pay for establishments, for roads, piers, bridges, churches, schools, and such public works, in the arrangement or settlement of which he is to have no voice? And on what principle is the earlier emigrant made to pay for what the later emigrant is to have the advantage of for nothing? He had better, methinks, stay at home, where the first cost of all the civilisation establishments of society have been paid

for him a thousand years ago! A prudent man would not accept a lot of land for nothing in Canada, Australia, or New Zealand. The land would be dearer to his grand-children, if they are to live in a civilised way, than an equal area of land in Great Britain; because all the expenses of placing them on the footing and with the benefits of a civilised people, must be paid out of their earnings. They inherit nothing as the people of the mother country do, in the shape of roads, bridges, churches, schools, quays, prisons, court-houses, and such needful public works. The natural and legitimate fund, out of which all the civilisation expenses of a colony, the public works necessary to a civilised society, ought to be defrayed, is unquestionably its uncleared land. But this fund has been anticipated and granted away, at various times, to land speculators. At the commencement of emigration to our American provinces, now the United States, the grantees were lords, favourites at Court, or local governors; at a later period, in our Canadian possessions, they were military officers, or speculators with political interest at home; now they are joint-stock companies of land-jobbers. All these grants are opposed to sound principles of colonisation. They absorb the means, and restrict the self-government of the colonial body. If the colonial legislatures were to declare all grants of land not occupied and settled within a reasonable period of six or eight years, to be null and void, and the land so granted to have lapsed to the colonial state, for colonial uses, the measure would in reason be justifiable. The unsettled lands of a colony belong to the colonised state, and are the proper fund out of which all public works should be constructed, according to the growing need of the

colonists for them, from generation to generation, and according to the judgment of the colonists themselves as to the time, situation, and extent. It may be doubted whether the parent state has, in reason and equity, any right to grant the unsettled lands, which are the common good of a colony; although the law, which considered the former British provinces, now the United States of America, to be part and parcel of the manor of Greenwich, would entertain no such doubt. The idle speculators in share companies at home, who have obtained grants recently in New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, of extensive tracts of land, undertake, no doubt, the construction of certain public works — roads, churches, school-houses, piers, bridges — on their own land. But there is no self-government in this system of colonisation, and therefore no soundness in its principle. Prudent reflecting men, with a little saved capital, will not emigrate, to be the passive live-stock of a land company at home, on whose discretion and doings, in the most important local affairs and interests of the colony, they have no check or voice. People do not go to a colony to be done for, like children in leading-strings, or soldiers in barracks, or paupers in an asylum. They go to do for themselves, to have something to say, in proportion to their means, stake, and judgment, in the internal affairs and interests of the community in which they live. The difference between Canada and the United States shows the difference between a people being done for, and doing for themselves, in emigration and colonising. If the working-man, with a little saved capital, is hesitating about emigrating, he would do well to sit down and reckon up the passage-money, purchase-money of the land, cost of tools, stock, seed,

shelter, food, clothing, until his land maintains him and his family, and which maintenance he can scarcely expect before the third year's crop; and if he reckon up the time and labour, which are his capital, expended before his lot of land is in full heart and bearing and supporting his family in a civilised way, he will find that three hundred pounds of money, or of money's worth, in time and labour, are gone, and he is but very poorly off after all.

I will give him another cogent reason against emigration. This nation of ours is past that stage in its social condition in which a people can throw off agricultural colonies from the main body. Two hundred years ago, when the peopling of the old American colonies was going on, the great mass of the population of the mother-country was essentially agricultural; but every working-man could turn his hand to various kinds of work, as well as to the plough. He was partly a smith, carpenter, wheelwright, stone-mason, shoemaker. The useful arts were not, as now, entirely in the hands of artisans bred to no other labour but their own trade or art; very expert, skilful, and cheap producers, in that; but not used to, or acquainted with, any other kind of work. This inferior stage of civilisation in which men were not co-operative to the same extent as now, but every man did a little at every thing, and made a shift with his own unaided workmanship and production, was a condition of society very favourable to emigration-enterprise, and to colonisation. It continues still in the United States, and is the main reason why their settlers in the back woods are more handy, shift better for themselves, and thrive better than the man from this country, who has been all his

life engaged in one branch of industry, and in that has had the co-operation of many trades preparing his tools and the materials for his work. Another advantage for emigration in that state of society which we in Britain have entirely outgrown, was, that the female half of the population contributed almost as much as the male half to the subsistence of a family, especially an emigrant family; and produced, by work in the household, what made or saved money. I should like to know if one emigrant father of an English family in ten thousand could say, in our days, to his wife and daughters:—"Here, my dears, I have brought you the fleeces of our score of sheep that I have been shearing this morning. You will take them and sort the wool, and card it, and spin it, and weave it, and waulk it, and dye it, and shape it, and sew it, and do all other needful operations with it, to make a coat for me, and petticoats for yourselves against winter; for it is not worth travelling a score miles to sell a few stones weight of wool to the merchant, and the price would go but a small way in buying our woollen clothing. And here, my dears, is our rig of flax just fit for pulling; you will turn to and pull it, bind it, steep it, rot it, skutch it, hackle it, spin it, weave it, bleach it; and if we have more linen than we need ourselves, we can sell a web or two of it to the town's-people." The mistress would probably reply:—"John, I never did any such work with wool or flax, and I don't know how it should be done. My grandmother, indeed, had all such work done in her family; and, besides, could brew, and bake, and make cheese, soap, candles, and a thousand things that I and my daughters never did, or saw done; because, long before my day, such house work

went out of fashion in every family, high or low. Home-made cloth was too coarse for the poorest to wear, and cottons, and factory-made cloths of all kinds were finer, better, and cheaper. We can wash, sew, cook, make the beds, and sweep the house; but we never learnt to spin, or weave, or knit, or bleach, or dye, or do any work that brings in money; because the factory did all such work in England far better and cheaper than single-handed women."

The English emigrants of our times have, in fact, to subsist one half of their numbers, the female half, by the labour of the other half; for the female work, cooking, washing, bed-making, house-cleaning, however needful, can neither make nor save money in the emigrant family. In the days of King James, and of Charles I. and Charles II., and down even to the end of the last century, the emigrant could reckon upon the household work of the females of his family as more or less profitable, and at least saving, by the production of all clothing material. In genteel families at home, all the family linen and cloth for common wear, and often some for sale in the country towns, was produced by household work. The progress of society to a higher state of material refinement, has entirely superseded such family production. Co-operative labour in factories supplies the public with much better and finer goods; and the public taste is so much refined by the continual enjoyment of finer articles, that the old mode and quality of production would not satisfy it now: but that former state was more favourable to emigration than our present more advanced social condition. There seems to be a stage in the progress of nations at which they can throw off swarms with most success. A nation, like

an individual, may become too refined for colonising; its social state too co-operative; men too dependent on other men for the gratification of acquired tastes and habits, which have become part of their nature, and interwoven with the daily life even of the poorer classes. The English of the present times emigrate under a disadvantage, compared to their forefathers, or to the descendants of the same stock in the United States, or to the German people; because they emigrate from a higher and more advanced social condition. The German or American family may settle in the solitary backwoods or prairies, and provide every thing they want in-doors and out of doors by their own unaided labour, or go without what they cannot produce as they would do at home; and in a very short time they are in a state very little different from that in which they were bred and to which they were used. The English, even of the labouring class, have wants, habitual comforts, tastes, and objects considered necessaries of life, which they cannot supply by their own labour and skill, and which they cannot obtain in a social state in which people do not work for mutual supply by the sale or exchange of products for products, but each family simply for its own use and supply. Their single-handed labour cannot produce what they require, although in their own trades they are workmen of unrivalled excellence. An English weaver could not make a tub, nor an English cooper a web of cloth; but either of them can make his own article incomparably better than the German or American settler, who even in his original home is accustomed to put up with such rough articles as he can make for himself in weaving or coopering, or to go without what he cannot produce. The people of

England have got far beyond such a rude state of society; but so much the worse fitted are they to become successful and contented emigrants in a rude, uncleared, thinly inhabited country.

If the English, and many of the Scotch, are too far advanced in civilisation, too much accustomed to the productions of co-operative labour in all the useful arts, to emigrate with advantage, the Irish people are too far behind in their civsailition, have too few wants and acquired tastes to become enterprising and successful settlers. A corner to lie down in upon a litter of straw, a diet of potatoes, and a ragged covering of old cast-off clothing, may be found in Liverpool or Glasgow, as well as at Montreal or New York; and emigration, industry, and exertion are at a stand with a great many of the lower class of the Irish people at the place where these requirements can be found. The Scotch Highlanders, even in the most remote parts of the Highlands, and where the Gaelic only is spoken, are very far in advance of their Celtic brethren from Ireland. The Highland family is very often half-naked as well as the Irish of the same destitute class; but the clothing they have is generally of their own making, and not the cast-off clothing of other poor people. What they get or buy of old clothes, they always attempt to fit and make suitable for themselves. They have the arts of spinning, weaving, shoemaking, and they want the materials, wool, flax, leather, rather than the skill and taste among them to clothe themselves respectably. They are remarkably distinguished from the Irish of the same race, language, and condition, by a very strong taste for finery in dress, and in the poorest hut, and under the coarest plaid, the civilising influence of this taste is

visible. This influence of personal vanity, and the self-respect which it indicates and produces in the character of the Highlander, seem altogether dormant in the character of the same class of the Irish people. The animal wants even, food, shelter, warmth, seem to call forth little foresight, exertion, or prudence to provide for them. A motive for emigration is wanting in this state of contented wretchedness, and ignorance of the tastes and objects of civilised existence. Such emigrants will only find or make a new Ireland in a new country. They want the tastes, and desires which stimulate industry and civilise a people but little removed in their habits from a state of nature. The emigration from Ireland at present going on, that of the small capitalists, farmers, and people with the means, tastes, and habits of a higher class than the lowest, is in reality a loss, not a relief, to the population remaining behind. They are the people (and there are not certainly too many of them in Ireland) who give employment and example, and diffuse objects and tastes of civilised life and habits of industry to gratify them, among the inert mass of the population below and around them. To encourage the emigration of this middle class from Ireland, and no other class has the means and habits to become settlers elsewhere, is to remove the only machinery by which the Irish people can be raised above their present condition. It is draining off all between the scum and the dregs, between the squires and the paupers, in the social body.

Emigration takes off, it is supposed, about a hundred thousand people annually from Germany. They go principally to the United States from Havre, Antwerp, the Ports of Holland, and Bremen, and

are of the class of peasants possessing some property. The heavy taxation, the military service, and the religious persecution of the Lutherans and Calvinists by the late King of Prussia in his Silesian provinces, are the causes given by the emigrants for leaving their native country. The religious persecution of the Protestants by the bigot who ruled in Prussia, the late King Frederick William II., is veiled over, and concealed from the public, by a subdued and servile press, but is the most flagrant act of oppression and despotic power for coercing a people in their religion, that has been committed in Europe since the days of Louis XIV., and of our sovereigns of the Stuart family. The German governments opposed at first the emigration of their subjects. They were alarmed at the numbers who were making preparations to remove from their dominions, and threw every obstacle in the way of emigrants. But the opposition increased the desire to leave the native country, without increasing the means to prevent it. Where the functionary system and its superintendence over the people were most perfect, and interfered the most with all private action, it was found impossible to prevent the people from deserting the country, privately slipping over the frontier, and removing their property, or its value, by a secret understanding with their neighbours. All intercourse between man and man must have been suspended in Germany, and all sales of property, and all business must have ceased, if the suspicion of an intention to emigrate had been made a hindrance to ordinary transactions between individuals, and the power of acting on such a suspicion placed in the hands of an inferior local functionary in every parish.

The speculations of Malthus, also, and of other political economists, on the evils of over-population, and on the readiness with which every real vacuum in the population of a country is filled up, enlightened the statesmen of Germany, and emigration began to be considered salutary rather than prejudicial to a state. At first, a tax on emigration was levied in some states, as a compensation to the state for the military service of the emigrant of which it was deprived; but in general the right to emigrate has of late been freely conceded.

In Prussia, the persons intending to emigrate have to make application to government for letters of expatriation. They give up all rights as Prussian subjects; such as rights of inheritance of land or fixed property, rights to carry on their trades, and whatever other rights or privileges they may have enjoyed; and the government, on the other hand, releases them from their military service, taxes, and other liabilities as Prussian subjects. In some of the minor states, it was required that the military duty of three years, should be completed, or a compensation paid to the government for the loss of the emigrant's service; but as the landwehr system brings many more soldiers into the ranks than the finances of the country can support, the permission to emigrate is seldom refused. Without the official permission, or letter of expatriation, the emigrant would be liable still, as a Prussian subject, to be cited to appear and to perform his military duty; and, on his non-appearance, would be liable to confiscation of his property, loss of his rights to the inheritance of property, and punishment as a deserter if he returned at any time to his native country. Letters of expatriation might perhaps be useful even in the

case of British subjects; as, for instance, of registered British seamen going into foreign service. In America, a few weeks' residence gives the rights of an American citizen to the subject of any other country. But, according to the law of all European countries, the subject cannot throw off his native allegiance; and there is, consequently, a very serious, dormant, unsettled question still pending between the American law and the international law of Europe. American citizenship would not protect a born subject of France, Prussia, England, or any other European country, from the penalties of treason if taken prisoner when in arms against his native sovereign; nor, in time of peace, would it protect him, or his property, if he were found in his native country, from the liabilities of other subjects; from the conscription, landwehr duty, impressment, or other military service, for instance, or from the personal or class tax payable by other subjects not provided with letters of expatriation. In the last war, American citizenship did not prevent the impressment of British-born seamen. The right of search for them in American vessels was denied by America; but the right to treat them as native subjects when not under a neutral flag was never allowed to be questioned by the British government; and it was not the merchant flag, but only the national flag in vessels belonging to the foreign state in which they had acquired citizenship, that was, from the courtesy between states, allowed to exempt from search the vessels in which subjects of Great Britain were harboured. It is not likely that impressment will ever again be resorted to for manning the British navy; but many other relations may arise even in time of peace, involving the liabilities of the subjects

of European countries, and the rights claimed for American adopted citizens.* The arrest of debtors, although they may have returned to their native country under the American flag, and with American citizenship, the liability to military duty and to taxes as other subjects, and the penalties for having evaded them, could not be stayed by any right acquired as American citizens. Letters of expatriation delivered to all, to seamen or others, who are leaving this country and wish to become citizens or subjects of another, and to renounce the rights and privileges of British subjects, whether as peers or commoners, and to take up those of French or American citizens, would perhaps settle practically this very delicate question of international law, which, as the intercourse between countries increases, may disturb the friendly feeling between England and all the European countries, and the United States. The letters of expatriation adopted by the Prussian government seem a wise measure; and, if given freely, compromise no right or privilege of the subject. They seem founded on an equitable principle which might be adapted to our own relations with America, and might obviate angry collisions between the countries at a future day.

It is evident that neither emigration, factories, nor fisheries can absorb any considerable proportion of the over-population of Ireland. These schemes are not remedies, scarcely palliatives, for the social disease. But in what does the disease consist? In ordinary seasons, and exclusive of the extraordinary failure of the potato crop for three successive years, it is not an over-population in proportion to the capability and extent of the Irish soil, nor even to the amount of

food actually raised from it, but an over-population in proportion to the employment and the means of the people to buy food. In the midst of the famine of 1847, and the importation and gratuitous distribution of meal, Indian corn, and other food for the starving population, Ireland was exporting food. The people had no employment by which they could earn wages to buy the food produced in the country. An increase of food raised in Ireland, by the general introduction of improved modes of farming, would in reality diminish, not increase, the quantity of employment given to the people by the present wretched husbandry. It is, no doubt, at present, employment misapplied; but where there is no other employment, and the employed get at least a potato diet by it, the introduction of better modes of farming would be a general evil, not a general good, unless other employment were provided for the people. At present it cannot be denied that three men are doing the work in a potato field, or on a small cotter farm, which one expert ploughman could do better, and in half the time; but two of the three would be starved by this agricultural improvement which would dispense with their unnecessary or superfluous services. The useful arts cannot go on out of proportion, and out of relation to the social state of a country, and to each other, without detriment to society greater than the advantage from the premature improvement of any one of them.

Considering that two millions of people in a population of eight millions would, by any general change in the present system of land occupancy for the purpose of agricultural improvement in Ireland, be thrown out of employment, homes, and subsistence, however

wretched these may be, and thrown loose, desperate, and destitute upon the country; and that Irish fisheries, factories, or emigration, allowing such schemes the utmost success that can in reason be expected, are mere delusions when seriously proposed as sufficient means for absorbing, or providing for any considerable proportion of this vast and increasing mass of starving population, the government ought to pause before encouraging the dangerous and inhuman clearances of the small cotter-tenantry from the face of the land. There are emergencies when governments must interfere with the rights of a class for the protection of the whole mass of the people, and when even admitted nuisances must be tolerated, and only removed gradually from the social body.

CHAP. V.

NOTES ON THE CAUSES OF THE DIVISION AND SUBDIVISION OF TENANT OCCUPANCIES IN IRELAND — WANT OF PROPERTY — WANT OF EMPLOYMENT — STRONG FAMILY AFFECTION. — WHY THE SAME CAUSES DO NOT PRODUCE THE SAME EFFECTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES. — WANT OF THE SENSE OF PROPERTY AMONG SMALL COTTER-TENANTS. — STRONG SENSE OF PROPERTY AMONG SMALL PEASANT-PROPRIETORS. — THE DIVISIVE ELEMENT ONLY AT WORK, THE AGGREGATIVE ELEMENT DORMANT IN THE SOCIAL STATE OF IRELAND. — THE MANNERS, WAY OF LIVING, COSTUME OF PEASANT-PROPRIETORS CONSERVATIVE. — WELL-BEING IN THIS SOCIAL STATE. — INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL CONDITION OF THIS CLASS. — NATIONAL WEALTH AND NATIONAL WELL-BEING NOT ALWAYS THE SAME. — ADVANTAGES OF THE SMALL-ESTATE OCCUPANCY. — WHICH OF THE TWO SOCIAL STATES IS PREFERABLE. — IMPORTANCE OF THE QUESTION. — DUTY OF THE TRAVELLER TO STATE BOTH SIDES OF IT IMPARTIALLY.

It cannot be denied that, in the 562,000 small farms in Ireland, the division and subdivision of the land, or its product, the potato crop, goes on to the very *minimum* of subsistence for an over-population. The fact is honourable to the Irish character. It is the result of strong feelings of family affection, and of the the sense of duty in the parents prompting them, even

* It is stated in a Report to the Statistical Society in September, 1849, that in 1848 there were 564,274 farmers in Ireland not employing hired labour; 44,262 farms under 1 acre; and from 1 to 30 acres, 473,755. But in 1847, there were 530,555 of this class; and in 1841, there were 636,997. A clearance in seven years of 163,242 small farms on which, reckoning five persons to a family, 816,210 people found employment and food, or contrived to subsist, will account for much of the distress in Ireland in 1848. Above 800,000 persons who had a living in 1841, were thrown into beggary and destitution by 1848, and no employment provided for them.

in their most distressed circumstances, to share with their children, and their children's children, and even with relatives much more distantly connected, whatever they have of food, lodging, or land. Let no man, in the fulness of his political economy, sneer at this virtuous and honourable propensity of the very poorest of the Irish nation. The fact also proves that it is not food, but employment, in proportion to population, that, in ordinary seasons, is the great want in Ireland. The want of employment is necessarily accompanied by a want of property among the labouring class, and the want of property by the want of prudence, and by the want of influences to counteract the reckless improvidence of men in hopeless circumstances. Men living without means or prospect of improving their condition, have no motives to exert foresight or economy. The landowners and the law may prevent the small tenant from actually dividing the small farm he rents, into farms, or subholdings, still smaller and from building huts on those smaller portions of land for his children, or relatives, to dwell in. But this would only correct the evil of subdivision to the eye. No law, or landlord right, can prevent the small tenant from lodging and feeding his own children, or friends, in his own dwelling, with his own food, although his children or friends be grown up, and married; or from his employing their labour on his potato land. Any interference of landlords, or of the law, would only make the evil worse, by forcing the population to be under-lodged, as well as under-fed, and crowding three generations into one hovel, instead of allowing them to have three to live in. The land would not be subdivided to the eye; but, what in social effect would be the same, the products of the

land would be divided and sub-divided, for the subsistence of the same number of people as before. No human law can prevent the working of that law of Nature, implanted in the heart of man as in the inferior animals, upon which all this division and subdivision of the land in Ireland is founded; viz. the love of offspring, the duty of sharing with them whatever parental affection can contrive to share, be it ever so scanty.

But why does not the same cause produce the same effects in other countries as in Ireland? Why is not the land here, in Flanders, or in Switzerland, or in Norway, frittered down, as in Ireland, into portions too small to afford a civilised subsistence to the cultivators? The land is occupied, as in Ireland, in small, not in large, farms. The natural affection for offspring and near relations is not less strong among the people of those countries, and the division of the land among the children of the proprietor is favoured by law, and compulsory, as a provision for them on the parent's death. Why, then, do we not find in those countries in which small farms are of old standing in very extensive districts, a division and sub-division of the land, or its products, as in Ireland, down to half a potato bed, or a half diet of potatoes twice a day? The reason seems to be, that the powerful influence on mind and conduct, which may be called the sense of property, is an effective check, in general, upon improvident marriages among the class of peasant-proprietors, and upon wasteful habits, and indolence in acquiring property to add to what they possess. The small tenant-farmers or cotter-population of Ireland, have no such check, having no land of their own to raise and foster this

sense of property in their social condition. There is, also, in those countries, an element of aggregation, as well as one of division and sub-division, at work in society and acting on property. In Ireland, it is the divisive element only that is at work, the aggregative element is wanting. The occupants of the 562,000 small farms in Ireland, the two millions eight hundred thousand people living on them, are tenants, not proprietors. They cannot acquire by marriage, inheritance, or purchase from each other any addition to the small lots of land they occupy at yearly rents as tenants, although they cannot be prevented from dividing and sub-dividing their small lots, or, what in social effect is the same, the subsistence produced from them, according to the dictates of parental affection. In the other countries occupied by small farmers holding lots of land of similar extent, the small farmers are the owners, and not merely the tenants, of the land they occupy. This class is numerous, and possesses a great proportion of all the land of those countries. The aggregation, consequently, of land into larger lots by marriages, inheritance from collateral relatives, and by sale and purchase among themselves, of lots of land too small to employ and subsist the heirs in the way they have been accustomed to live, is going on naturally every day, as well as the division and sub-division among the children by the deaths of the parents. Over the whole of a country and population, this element of aggregation, which is totally wanting in the social condition and state of landed property in Ireland, must in the natural course of things equal the element of division, and counterbalance its tendency. In a former work on the social state of Norway, where the occupation of

the land by peasant-proprietors has been for many ages in the fullest development, I have endeavoured to explain, on this principle, the fact that, notwithstanding the equal inheritance of all the children of the parent proprietor, the land is not divided and sub-divided into portions too small to subsist the occupant; that society is not reduced to the state of the Irish peasantry; and that the equal division among the children is counteracted by the succession of heirs to collateral relatives, by marriages, and by purchase. There is practically no division of the land itself in those countries, like that which takes place in the tenant occupancies in Ireland. The actual division of the land itself into lots too small to afford employment and subsistence according to a certain conventional standard, rarely takes place in those countries in which this social arrangement of the small ownership of land has been long established. The price of the lot is of more value to the heir than the land itself, if it be too small to support him in the way customary in his class, and he sells it to some co-heir or neighbour, who has houses and stock to cultivate it and append it to his own land, and the heir with his little capital turns to some other means of subsistence. There is a strong conservative principle, also, in the social condition of a body of small landowners of old standing, which cannot exist in a body of small tenants removable at each term, and with no right of property in their farms. The owner of six acres of land is under the same moral influence as the owner of six hundred. He has a social position to maintain; a feeling of being obliged to live as respectably as his equals; a customary standard in his house, furniture, clothing, food, to support; a repugnance to

derogate from what ancient custom has established as suitable in his station, and an equal repugnance to be thought imprudent or extravagant, by exceeding it. There are few positions in life in which men live under such powerful social restraints, as in the class of peasant-proprietors. Their houses, furniture, clothing, diet, utensils, and even modes of working, are fixed and regulated by ancient custom from which no individual can deviate, without in a manner losing caste. The traveller often comes into a district in which all the inhabitants are clothed in one peculiar distinct costume, often of very antique fashion, and generally of home-made materials. He may always conclude that the district is one in which the occupancy of the land by small peasant-proprietors is of ancient standing, and predominant. These local costumes on the Continent are very interesting to the antiquary. They represent frequently the very dress, both in fashion and material, worn by the higher classes in the early part of the middle ages, before silks and fine cloths, or stuffs from Lombardy or Flanders, were generally diffused, and had driven the home-made materials of clothing, and the fashion of garments they were applied to, from the upper to the lower ranks of the people. The costume in some parts of the Continent is the same, at the present day, as the garb of noble dames and knights, represented on ancient tombstones, or in carvings, tapestry, and missals. The flower-girls at Hamburgh, from the Vierländer on the Elbe, and the females of the Probstei, a district on the Baltic coast between Kiel and Lubeck, with their bunchy jupes, or petticoats like a Highlander's philibeg, scarcely reaching below the knee, but with a profusion of folds and plaits, making

up, in the ample latitude of this indispensable garment, for the alarming deficiency in its longitude, are the very figures on the brasses and sculptured monuments in ancient cathedrals. These local costumes have an interest also for the social economist: they are a standard of clothing which regulates in these several districts the expense, preparation, and labour to be bestowed upon the apparel of every individual of a class which comprehends almost the whole population. The costume is the same for all in materials, pattern, and colour, whatever may be the diversity in the wealth of the individuals. The Dutch boor in North Holland, who possesses shares in East Indiamen, is not distinguishable in dress from the boor who has only his house and piece of land. Costume is not confined to dress: it extends to the furniture, the household goods, the housekeeping, the diet, the farm work. A sameness and equality are deemed necessary for respectability: nor is this common standard in dress very low; ornaments of silver, such as buckles, clasps, and dangling rows of buttons to some value, are worn in some districts by all respectable peasants. Gold earrings, lace, amber necklaces, enter into the common female attire in others. In Holland, and from Groningen to Embden, and northwards to the Elbe and Eyder, in the Frisian branch of the population, every girl, to be respectably dressed even in the station of a servant-maid, must have a frontlet or thin clasp of gold across her forehead. These are checks which society forms for itself upon improvidence in marriage, or extravagance in living. A man who cannot afford those articles deemed respectable and necessary in his station, cannot marry without visible imprudence, or find a woman to marry him.

To be without them would be a manifest derogation, as inexorable custom requires them in his and her social position, and to attain them depends upon ordinary industry; as the clothing materials are principally home made, the fashion is common to all, and the trinkets, or gold or silver ornaments, are of known value suited to what the earnings of a young couple ought to afford if they can afford to marry.

There is, unquestionably, much well-being in such a social state. It carries within itself a powerful moral and economical check upon over-population from the division and sub-division of the land, or from improvident marriages. The unchanged customs for ages, in respect of clothing, lodging, and food, where this state prevails, prove that there is little deterioration going on in the social condition of the people. Pauperism will exist in the one state of society as well as in the other; but not to the same extent in that state in which the great majority of individuals have some property, and of that simple kind that each can see whether his portion of land can or cannot support a family. The amount of total destitution also, that is, of persons in total want of food and all necessaries of life, will be smaller where every individual is connected by relationship with others who, as peasant proprietors, although they may have little money, have those necessaries in some abundance.

The intellectual and moral condition also of the individuals in such a social state in which almost all household wants are provided for by household work, may be fairly expected to stand higher than in a social state in which the production of all that people use or consume, is crammed into factories in the hands of a few capitalists employing distinct classes of opera-

tives. The production of clothing materials employs, next to the production of food, the greatest numbers of the human race. The cotton, woollen, linen, and silk manufactories employ as many people probably, as agriculture itself, in our system of land occupancy. The clothing materials are unquestionably better, cheaper, finer, and more varied, than what each family could produce by household work for itself; but it may be questioned whether there be not a loss to society in mind and morals by the factory system of production, and one overbalancing the social good of printed cottons at sixpence a yard, however fine the fabric and fashionable the patterns. The loss is this. Adam Smith proves undeniably, that the division of labour is the basis of quantity and quality of production in the useful arts; and that one man working at one part only, as at the head, shank, or point of a nail or pin, will, with his fellow-workmen, each working at his own distinct part only, produce in a given time many thousand times more and better pins or nails, or whatever it may be that is being manufactured, than if each were to be occupied in making the entire pin or nail by his own single-handed labour. The superiority of factory work or co-operative, over single-handed labour, in quantity, quality, time, cost, or profit of production, admits of no doubt; and the division of labour being the basis of extensive and cheap production, is the basis of national wealth. But national wealth and national well-being are not precisely the same thing. Adam Smith evidently meant by national wealth, the capability of a nation to support its state, or government, by taxation in the most expensive enterprises; and the gain to the state or public revenue was the sole question under

his consideration in his examination of the causes of national wealth. But the gain to society by the more abundant and cheaper supply and use of the articles which minister to our material comforts and gratifications in refined life, and which are the basis of taxable national wealth, may be more than counterbalanced by the loss to society in the moral and intellectual cultivation of the great mass of population reared and employed in producing those articles. If man be an intellectual and moral being, created and existing on the face of God's earth for higher ends than making pins, or nails, or printed cottons, and for nobler purposes than the enjoyment of material comforts and well-being to which, no doubt, pins, nails, and printed cottons do, in their way, greatly contribute, it may be reasonably doubted if true civilisation and well-being do gain so much as political economists tell us, by the concentration of labourers in great masses in our factories, and the sub-division of their labour into minute operations.. They are congregated in great masses with no steady assured subsistence from their labour—a position not favourable to their moral condition; and, when at work, are confined, mind and body, to the perpetual repetition of the one simple operation required for their particular part of the product to be made, which is not favourable to their intellectual condition. The exercise of the faculties by the application of the mind to a variety of operations, the invention, ingenuity, and judgment called forth, the resources to be found for want of skill, tools, and co-operative aid, make the production of an article by single-handed or family work, much more intellectual and improving, although the article produced be very much inferior and more costly than

if it had been produced by factory work. The product is better, but not the producer. His mind is less exerted, his faculties less exercised, by his day's work, than the man's who has to apply himself every day to various occupations; who has perhaps to make a nail, forge a horse-shoe, nail it on, and yoke his cart, drive to market, and sell a load of corn of his own sowing, reaping, and threshing. The individual doing one single operation all his life, in the subdivision of work in the factory he belongs to, will scarcely be a man of such mental powers — at least, his work will not make him so — as this individual of multifarious occupations. The working peasant-proprietor in Switzerland, who sits down in winter, after his crops are reaped, to make a clock, or a gun, will not certainly produce a time-piece like one of Dent's, or a fowling-piece like one of Smith's; but his faculties and thinking powers are more exercised by his work, than those of any one operative employed by Mr. Dent or Mr. Smith, in making the one separate part he is bred to make, in their more perfect machines. The factory production makes the individual operative a mere tool, or part of a machine, useless without the other parts. As far as a man's daily occupations influence his mental condition, factory work tends to lower, not to raise, his intellectual powers and intelligence.

It cannot be denied that, in the small estate occupancy of the land of a country, a considerable amount of national well-being is attained and widely diffused, and also of intelligence, and of moral and reflective habits. In this social state also there are, more than in any other, powerful checks, material and moral, arising from the general possession of property, upon

the undue increase of population, and consequently upon the undue deterioration of the physical well-being of the people. The present condition of the peasant-proprietors in Switzerland, the Tyrol, Flanders, and many countries or extensive districts of Germany, in all of which this social condition of small estate occupancy of the land has been of old standing, proves these points in its favour; nor, fairly considered, can any conclusions against it be drawn from the opposite tendency or results, in a class so entirely different from peasant-proprietors in social positions, interests, and motives of action, as the miserable over-rented Irish or Scotch small tenants or cotters. But the great question still remains:—

Which of the two social states—that which is spreading itself over the continent of Europe, the distribution of the land into small estates of working peasant-proprietors; or that which exists now in its full integrity and vigour in Great Britain only, the aggregation of the land into the hands of a comparatively small body of great landed proprietors and large farmers—is the more promising for the future well-being and progress of society? There is not, in the social economy of Europe, a question more important, or of more difficult solution. A change, a great revolution in fact, in the social condition, relations, connections, and interests of the classes or elements of the social body of every European country but our own, has been taking place silently, but rapidly, during the last half century. The overthrow of dynasties and governments, the rise and fall of kings, and the revolutions of states, in the course of those eventful fifty years, will be considered by the future historian as but secondary events—con-

sequences not causes,—compared to this great and radical change in the spirit and elements of society itself, which has produced these convulsions, and which is still going on, and will be producing its own results for good or for evil, when these most recent convulsions of 1848, and 1849, are forgotten like last year's thunder-storms. This greatest of social revolutions in Europe since the establishment of the feudal system, arises from, and consists in the infusion of a new preponderating element into the social state of the European people, viz. the general distribution of the land among the great mass of the population. The undeniable good, the physical well-being inherent in this new social condition of the Continent which is extending itself over every country, I have endeavoured to illustrate, in former works on Norway, and Sweden, and in preceding Notes on various parts of Europe, showing the state of those countries in which the land has, from the most remote times, been in the hands of small proprietors, each working and living on his own small estate. I have endeavoured to show that the comfort, the material enjoyments, the domestic good of this social state, are widely diffused; and that it is not necessarily productive of over-population, of a too minute partition of the land for affording a civilised subsistence, nor of bad or careless husbandry. The social state and husbandry of the countries which have been, for many ages, in the hands of small peasant-proprietors, as Flanders, Switzerland, the Tyrol, may stand any comparison with the social state and husbandry of Scotland, under large estate and large farm occupancy of the land, or of Ireland, under large estate and small farm occupancy. I am

not conscious of having under-estimated any of the advantages of this social state. But the traveller, like the historian, is bound to show impartially both sides of the subject he discusses. I have hitherto presented only the credit side of the account. There must be a debit side too, as in all human affairs social or individual, and, if the items be fairly stated, the social economist may pause before he determines on which side the balance stands. It is the duty of the traveller to state fairly and impartially his observations, and reflections, without leaning to any system. It is his vocation to suggest, not to judge; to furnish the materials of opinion to the philosopher and social economist, not to lay down his own opinion and direct all his observations to its support, and to shut his eyes on all that may oppose it. The traveller who is determined to be consistent in his opinions, must often sacrifice truth to consistency. I shall endeavour, in the following notes, to state as fully and strongly the evils which appear to me inherent in the new social condition of the European people, as I have stated, in the preceding notes, its undeniable advantages and benefits; leaving the reader to strike the balance between the old and new social constitution, according to his own judgment, experience, feelings, and prepossessions.

CHAP. VI.

NOTES ON THE DISADVANTAGES OF THE SMALL-ESTATE OCCUPANCY OF THE LAND OF A COUNTRY.—IT IS A STATIONARY, NOT A PROGRESSIVE, SOCIAL STATE.—WANT OF CO-OPERATIVE INDUSTRY.—WANT OF MEANS TO CULTIVATE THE TASTES OF A HIGHER CIVILISATION.—THE SMALL ESTATES NOT ALWAYS DIVIDED, BUT GENERALLY BURDENED WITH PAYMENTS TO COHEIRS BY THE EQUAL DIVISION OF LAND AMONG THE CHILDREN.—WANT OF A MIDDLE CLASS BETWEEN THE GOVERNED AND THE GOVERNING IN THIS SOCIAL STATE.—THE EQUALITY OF CONDITION IN IT NOT FAVOURABLE TO LIBERTY.—WANT OF DEMAND FOR, AND THE MEANS TO PURCHASE, THE OBJECTS OF PEACEFUL INDUSTRY.—WANT OF ANY INCREASING EMPLOYMENT FOR THE INCREASING POPULATION IN EACH GENERATION.—THE YOUTH NECESSARILY THROWN FOR EMPLOYMENT INTO MILITARY SERVICE—EFFECTS OF THIS WAR-ELEMENT IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AND DIFFERENT AGES.—THE HISTORY AND ECONOMY OF THIS SOCIAL STATE ADVERSE TO THE VIEWS OF THE PEACE CONGRESS.—THE TRUE BALANCE BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW SOCIAL STATE OF EUROPE NOT TO BE FOUND IN THIS GENERATION.

This state of society is necessarily stationary at a certain attainment of well-being. It is not progressive. It is a state of finality. But in the moral, intellectual, and social affairs and interests of mankind, the law of Nature is to advance and improve. Finality is altogether a false, and conventional principle. Now, this social state is not, and cannot be progressive. It admits of no advance in the means or ways of living, acting, or thinking, beyond a certain fixed hereditary standard; and one generation cannot afford to acquire or to gratify any higher tastes or wants than those of the generation preceding it. In the

countries or districts in which this social state has been established for ages, as in Switzerland, the Tyrol, Norway, Flanders, the man of the 19th century is the man of the 14th. His way of living, his way of thinking, his diet, dwelling, dress, his tastes, wants, and enjoyments, his ideas, his civilisation, are stereotyped. Co-operative industry, science, invention, judgment, applied to the ornamental or useful arts, commerce, manufactures, the tastes for and enjoyments of the objects of civilised life, are dormant to a great degree, in a social state which affords no markets, no consumption, no demand for the productions of the engenuity, skill, and enterprise of other people. All are producers of almost all they consume, and no class is wealthy enough to set to work a class of producers of objects required for their gratification. The having enough for the most simple wants and tastes of a working agricultural life, the contentedness of a whole population with this enough, and the legal impediment, from the equal division of property among children, to any class in the community attaining permanently more than this enough, may be a very happy social state, and altogether in accordance with the spirit and precepts of ancient philosophers ; but it is a philosophy of barbarism, not of civilisation ; a social state of routine and stagnation, not of activity and progress. A nation is composed of families; but where these component parts are not united by common interests, and are merely distinct dots upon the face of a country, joined together by no want of each other, no common requirements supplied by co-operative labour, but simply by juxta-position on the land, and a common inhabitation under a common government, the population can scarcely be called a nation. The ma-

terial interests binding people together into one social and political body, are too few in this social state. There can be little interchange of industry for industry, for all are employed equally in producing what they consume. There can be no important home markets for agricultural products, and none for the many products for which great combinations of capital, skill, machinery, and co-operative labour of body and mind, are required, and which are the enjoyments and the tastes of civilised life. Where manufactures have been established, as in Switzerland, Belgium, and on the Rhine, it is upon the foreign market, not upon any consumption at home, that they depend. In the social state of Britain it is the reverse. Our export trade, immense as it is, appears but a trifle compared to our home consumption, in our own families, of all that labour, skill, ingenuity, and capital produce for the gratification of the tastes and wants of civilised life among our own population. The interchange of industry for industry among the individual producers in our social state, is a perpetual animating principle, like the circulation of the blood in the human frame. But this interchange, this living by each other, and dependence upon each other, is necessarily inconsiderable in the other social state. Each family is a self-supporting isolated unit, living a kind of Robinson Crusoe life on its own patch of land, producing in a rough way all it wants, and going without what it cannot produce. The tastes for the habits, comforts, gratifications, and refinements of a higher state of civilisation are wanting; because the means to form those tastes are wanting, and the classes in the social body who can afford to indulge in them and pay for them are

wanting. The three needful elements in all individual or social progress are time, labour, and capital; and in this social state these are fully occupied in keeping up to a certain fixed customary standard of living, and cannot get beyond it. Hereditary wealth is too rare for the individuals possessing it to form a class in society. Any peculiarly fortunate individual possessing hereditary or acquired wealth, cannot prudently go beyond the fixed standard of living of his neighbours, because he would stand alone in society; and the equal succession of all his children to his property on his death, would bring them back to the class of income, the means, the standard of living, and the social position, from which he had started. The want, in this social state, of a class with more than the bare means of living, and with the leisure to apply to higher material or intellectual objects than the supplying of their own household wants by their own household work, is not favourable to the progress of society. The material objects and interests, and these of the lowest kind, must predominate over the intellectual and moral. There are intellectual and moral influences, and objects, which dignify man as motives of his action; but these must remain almost dormant in society, if there be no class free from the cares of daily subsistence, and with the education, and leisure which an opulent class only can command, to cultivate and act on them. Education of an ordinary kind may be very widely diffused in this social state; reading, writing, and useful acquirements may be imparted to all the population; and yet education may be very defective and uninfluential, and may lose in depth, what it gains in breadth. Few in this social state are in a situation to enter into those higher

studies and sciences, which not only elevate the individual to a high pitch of mind, but give society itself the language, ideas, and spirit of a higher intellectual condition.

The division of the land among all the children of the peasant-proprietor, in consequence of the law of equal succession, does not, it has been stated in a former note, produce the frittering down of the original little estate into still smaller portions among the heirs. If the portion of land be too small to afford the means to build a house and offices, and to live in the way customary among the other peasant proprietors of the country, the one heir sells his share and interest in the little estate, to the other. One of the brothers, and generally the eldest, takes up the whole concern — the land, house, and stock, — and pays a sum of money or an annuity to each of the co-heirs. There is a moral check to the division of the land itself into portions too small for subsistence, as in Ireland, from the higher standard of living and requirements among peasant-proprietors; and there is an economical check from the greater expense of constructing the dwellings even of the poorest class. But although the land itself is not divided and subdivided, the value of the land is, and with effects almost as prejudicial to social progress. The value of each share becomes a debt or burden upon the land. This is the reason that almost all the estates of the peasant-proprietors in France, which were originally free of debt to the generation preceding the present, who acquired them in 1799, and the subsequent years, at the sales of the national domains and confiscated estates of the Church and of the emigrant nobles, are now sunk in debt.

In less than half a century, the second generation from the original proprietors of the small estates who had them free of debt, are now overwhelmed with mortgages. The extent of this indebtedness of the small peasant proprietary and its consequences are fearful. The amount of registered mortgages is stated*, on the authority of M. Audiffret and M. Raudot, to have been 11¼ milliards of livres, or 450 millions of pounds sterling, at the 1st July, 1832; and in 1840, the amount was 12½ milliards, or 500 millions of pounds sterling; and, at the same rate of progress, it is estimated that the amount of debts on the land of the peasant-proprietors in France, would not be less, in 1849, than 560 millions of pounds sterling. These mortgages represent the value of the portions of land belonging to the co-heirs of the actual occupants of the original farms. The increase of their amount from 1832 to 1849, shows that the value to be divided among co-heirs—the value of the land—has been increasing during that period. The actual occupant peasant-proprietary have had to borrow a greater sum in 1849, to pay off the greater value of shares of co-heirs, than sufficed in 1832, and this must be in consequence of the improved value of the land in 1849. It seems, therefore, an erroneous conclusion from the facts, to infer a deterioration of the value of the land from these mortgages; or to infer that the 30 millions of pounds sterling, payable yearly by the peasant-proprietary as interest of this enormous mass of debt, is capital withdrawn from agriculture, and disabling them from cultivating their small estates to the best advantage.

* See "The Times" newspaper of 18th January, 1850.

It is to be remembered that in the small estate occupancy of land, hired labour is not an essential element—and "the application of capital to agriculture" means in general merely the application of hired labour to husbandry-work. Where the land is divided into small estates of working proprietors, the amount of labour-capital applied to the land by family work, is vastly greater than the amount of money-capital applied to the land on the large farm system. The whole family work on the estate will amount to a grown man's labour for every two or three acres. One hired labourer for every thirty acres is all the capital applied on the large farm system of occupancy. The great evil of this universal indebtedness is, that the actual cultivator, although he may have the same extent of land as his predecessor, has not the same means to live, and expend something on the comforts and conveniences of a civilised and advancing condition. He can make but a bare subsistence out of the estate for himself and his family, after paying the annuities or interest of the principal sum with which he bought out the other co-heirs. It is estimated, by the authorities quoted above, that, after paying the interest of his debt, and the government taxes and rates, the peasant-proprietor in France has not, on an average, above three-eighths of the yearly produce of his estate left for his own subsistence. On his death the burden on the estate is increased by an additional set of co-heirs. This is a retrograde, not an advancing, condition of the agricultural population, which is the great mass of the social body. Each generation is worse off than the preceding one, although the land is neither less, nor more divided, nor worse cultivated. The ostensible

owner is more and more burdened with debt in each generation, can afford to buy less, and not more, of the comforts and conveniences of life; and consequently the home market for the products of the useful arts, and the taste and habit of enjoying them, are diminishing along with the means of the great mass of the population to indulge in them. The effect of this social state is prejudicial, not only to consumers, but to producers. The workman, in any trade, or handicraft, who has something, however small it may be, paid regularly out of his inheritance, will scarcely work so steadily as the man who depends upon his trade alone, and his skill and expertness as a producer. The class of workmen also in the ordinary crafts, who, in a sound state of society, should find constant employment and a good living, by supplying the agricultural class with the objects of the useful arts, are, from the want of means among that class to consume, thrown upon production in the ornamental arts in greater numbers than the home and foreign markets require, or can employ. There is, owing to this want of employment in the most common trades, a congregated mass of turbulent, half-employed, demoralised operatives in every city, whom the employment given by the agricultural body cannot absorb.

There is a political want, also, in this social state, of an intermediate element, in the construction of society, between the governing and the governed — one having a moral influence over both. Whatever be the form of government, this third element between the power of the state and the physical force of the people, is indispensable for the security of freedom, and stability of social institutions. It prevents the

direct collision, like the buffers and ballast-waggons in a railway train, between the state and the people; and without it there is no security against tyranny on the one hand, or anarchy on the other. King and people, or state and people, especially if the government be liberal, or democratic, come into direct antagonism on every, even petty question of public interest. The aristocracy, or the clergy of the Church of Rome, or both, formed this third element in the middle ages; but both are effête on the Continent, in this age, as influential powers in society. With us, the class of capitalists, of men of high intellectual and moral character displayed in situations of importance, and the strong *prestige* in favour of birth, fortune, manners, and of what we call nobility and gentry — a class very different from the feudal aristocracy of the Continent, and depending for social influence entirely on popular esteem, not on royal favour — constitute this third element in our social structure. But no equivalent class, with social influence to stand between the aristocratic and democratic elements in the social body, has formed itself, or can form itself, on the Continent, where the property of land, which is almost the only kind of property, is universally distributed in small, and almost equal portions. A class, with the social influence of great opulence, high education, and extensive action in objects important and useful to the community, is necessarily of very slow growth in a social state in which almost every family produces what it consumes, and few have means to indulge in those acquired tastes for luxuries, or comforts, which employ commerce and manufactures. Where all are equal, or nearly equal in property, no pre-eminent social influence is ac-

143132

corded to property; and the only influence remaining in the social body is that of military or civil authority held under and from the Crown, or the executive power. The people have no independent representatives, no leaders or defenders, of importance and weight, either with their own body, or with their rulers; no influential organs of public opinion; nothing, in short, to oppose to misgovernment and oppression, but physical force. This is a social state much nearer to a military despotism than to a free constitution. If we sit down, and try to sketch that social condition which practically must be of all others the least favourable to the establishment and permanence of free institutions, and to the liberty of a people, we come unexpectedly and unwillingly to the conclusion, that it is the social condition which approaches nearest to a perfect equality. Liberty and equality! these are two elements which cannot co-exist in society. Liberty and property! the old cry of the English mob was practically, and theoretically, a more true and philosophical combination of ideas; for liberty would have no protection, guidance, or defence, without a class having, by their superior stake of property, the confidence of the people. The United States of America began with such a class, at their disruption from England — a class of gentry of old standing in the country, and possessing all the influence and *prestige* that superior education, fortune, and station in life, could give. Washington and almost all the leaders in the struggle for American independence were of this class; were in every respect the equivalent class to the English gentry or nobility. But such a class of independent proprietors, with a considerable stake, and a proportionable influence in

the country, has not formed itself on the European continent by the breaking up of the estates of the feudal aristocracy, and of the Crown and Church domains. A very near approach to equality of condition, has been made — nearer by far than in the American republic, because there commerce, capital, and industrial enterprise, are widening every day the difference of condition between the different classes; but this equality on the continent of Europe, which extends to education as well as property, seems to be no nearer approach to liberty. A republic cannot be formed out of a mob equal, each man to his neighbour, in rights, pretensions, claims to support, and to public confidence — equal in fortune, education, influence, and clamour. This can only be an anarchy in which nothing is influential, stable, and secure. A limited monarchy with no limiting element of power and influence standing in the social body between the monarch and the people, keeping each in its place, can only be a constitution on paper, and not a working reality. A military autocracy is the only government applicable, or perhaps possible, in this social state of agrarian equality.

The general distribution of landed property in small estates is attended by another social disadvantage. It throws loose upon a country a vast proportion of the population, clamorous for war, fit only for military service, and to whom war is a necessity, for war only can give them suitable and beneficial employment. This, I am aware, is a very different conclusion from that to which Mr. Cobden and many other able and philanthropic observers, members of the peace congress, have come to, on the same subject. They consider war as an evil which will be speedily abolished

in modern society, by that very distribution and diffusion of landed property which I consider a permanent element of warfare in the new state of the European people. They suppose that war never can be the choice of a people generally possessed of property, and having a preponderating influence and voice in their own public affairs; because property, especially landed property, which cannot be removed or concealed, suffers in war equally from friend and foe, by taxation or devastation; and where the great mass of the population are landed proprietors, having this obvious interest in avoiding war, the most self-willed government must be constrained, they conceive, to maintain peace. If Mr. Cobden and the many excellent men who fondly cherish this hope, would examine more closely the actual practical working of the small estate system of land-occupancy in France, where they were recently assembled in their peace congress, they would see that, in almost every peasant-proprietor's family, there are one or two grown-up young men, the sons and heirs of the labouring proprietor, who have no employment at home until the small estate becomes vacant by the death of their parents. Their additional labour is not required for its cultivation, while the parent is able to work, and it cannot afford them bread, after they are grown up, for labour not required. It is, however, a secure living to look to, and to fall back upon after the parent's death. This mass of population includes a large proportion of all the youth of France and Germany, of an age and habits suitable for military service. In France alone, there are 10,282,946 landed proprietors. If we allow one-third of these ten millions to be heads of families with sons grown up, while the parent is still able to

work, and cultivate his little property, what a vast body of young men we find, in this social state, ever ready and eager for military service and warfare! To learn a trade or handicraft which cannot subsist them until they have acquired it, and which they would have to abandon as soon as their little heritages fall to them, is by no means so suitable to their position in life, even in a prudential view, as to enter into military service in which they are fed, clothed, and lodged from the very first day; are engaged for a term of years which they can very well spare; and are then free to return to their little heritages, or to re-engage, according to their prospects. Military conscription is not an evil, not even a hardship, in a society in this state. The great body of landed proprietors, living each family on its own little farm, employing little manufacturing industry beyond its own fireside, buying little, and having little to buy with, can give no employment to each other, or to the idle and unprovided for in the social body, as producers and consumers, in time of peace any more than in time of war. There is no market in this social state for the products of the common peaceful arts—no employments to absorb the increase of population. War is a necessary sequence of the social state of those countries in which landed property is generally, and almost equally, distributed—war abroad, or tumult and revolution at home. This is clearly shown in Switzerland. The Swiss youth are scattered over Europe and America in various temporary employments, as servants, small traders, innkeepers, adventurers; and, except the Jews, no people are so generally dispersed over the civilised world as the Swiss. Switzerland manufactures also, to no inconsiderable

extent, for foreign markets. Yet, with all these outlets and employments for her youth, Switzerland furnishes regiments, entirely of Swiss young men, to Naples, Rome, and other Italian states, and keeps, in reality, a very large standing army in proportion to her population, always on foot, but always in foreign pay. Military service is so suitable and congenial to the social state of her population of small landholders, that the ranks of these regiments, although serving abroad, are always replenished with ease; and there remains always a surplus of unquiet spirits at home, ready, from want of other employment, to engage in tumult and war when the cantons quarrel among themselves or with the federal government. In the United States of America, the perpetual stream of emigration from the half-cleared half-cultivated land of the eastern states to the uncleared forests of the west, the wild expeditions to Texas, to Mexico, to California, to Cuba, the reckless spirit of enterprise and unprincipled adventure in the American character, the political bluster and agitation always on the boil at their own firesides, and ready to scald themselves and their neighbours, may assuredly be traced to the same social state; viz. a state in which temporary employment is more suitable than steady life-long application to one pursuit, for the youth of a country in which all have a living, a station in society, and landed property to fall back upon, if their temporary pursuits are not successful. The provision for the future falls out of their calculation in the employment of the present. This prodigious development of an element of warfare in the new social state of Europe, may well make the observer of the spirit of our times pause before he admits its advantages, or

assents to Mr. Cobden's conclusion—that universal and perpetual peace is a necessary result of an universal diffusion of landed property. A more warlike construction of society could scarcely be devised than one which keeps all the agricultural youth of the country *mobile*, and independent of steady employment for their future subsistence, and renders military service the most desirable occupation they can adopt, and the most consistent with their ultimate position in life. This social element, the youth of a country living in present idleness, yet in certainty of future subsistence, has, in every age and nation, and even in every family, impeded industry and application to the useful and peaceful arts, and engendered a spirit for temporary exertion, and a wild craving for excitement which warfare only can gratify. It filled the Roman legions; and, on the decay of the Roman empire, it covered the seas with squadrons of Saxon and Danish freebooters. Thrice it conquered England, by the Saxons, Danes, and Normans. Wielded by Bonaparte, it conquered Europe; and, after the almost total annihilation of his army of half a million of soldiers on the retreat from Moscow, it replaced that army in a few months, and enabled him to struggle once more for the mastery of the world on the field of Waterloo. If Mr. Cobden be right in considering the universal diffusion of landed property a pacific element in society, all history must be wrong. It is this social element that is agitating and convulsing Germany, France, Italy, and filling all the continental cities with unemployed young men, idle half-educated enthusiasts, incapable of steady application to any handicraft, because they have a living to look to at last independent of present industry. This

class of the unemployed, and in truth the unemployable, furnishes those bands of socialists, communists, red republicans, clubbists, students, vagabonds who are wandering as military adventurers over Europe, from the Tiber to the Eyder; and, like the *condottieri* of the middle ages, are ready to engage in any tumult or warfare. The social state from which they spring cannot absorb them, cannot give them full employment in the useful arts. Employment does not keep pace with the increase of population, however small, in this new social state; for, as every family is producing, generally speaking, all it consumes by its own labour in the field or at the fireside, the market for the products of those ordinary trades and handicrafts which employ the great mass of the working population in the old social state is limited, and is necessarily falling off, and not increasing with the increase of population, because that increase brings a diminution, not an increase, of the means to consume and give employment. Each family, as its numbers increase, must necessarily give up more and more in each succeeding generation the use of, and tastes for, those objects among the common useful arts it cannot produce at home. The man whose father employed the tailor and shoemaker, and their dependent branches of industry, can only afford now to wear home-made clothes and shoes, of home-made cloth and leather; because, although his means—that is, the products of his little estate—are the same, on an average of seasons, as in his father's time; the numbers to be supported by those means are increased. If employment be not increasing with population, society is not in a progressive, or even a safe state. The unemployed class must necessarily increase with the division and subdivision

of the land among small peasant-proprietors who can neither afford, at last, to give direct nor indirect employment to industry. The land is soon over-stocked with labour born upon it, as the area or the value possessed by each family is diminishing by partition and repartition, while its population is augmenting; and the means to buy objects employing the industry of other classes of producers, must be diminishing in the hands of the peasant-proprietors in proportion to the increase of their numbers and the division of their estates. This appears to be the disease — this want of employment for an increasing population — inherent in this small estate occupancy, or new social state into which the continental countries are entering. The manufacturing for a foreign market cannot give that universal employment that is diffused by a general consumption and demand at home, for all that labour and skill produce. A few articles in a few districts may give employment by a foreign demand for them; but the employment of a whole people must depend upon their own home consumption. If that consumption, or home-market for the products of industry, be necessarily diminishing under the new social arrangement or distribution of property, and the foreign market closed by the competition of England and America, manufacturing with the advantages of greater capital, cheaper motive power, readier transport, and, since the abolition of the corn-laws, cheaper production in England, to what can the rising generation on the Continent turn themselves, but to warfare abroad or tumult and revolutions at home? Socialism, communism, equality of rights to subsistence and well-being, and all the theories, schemes, and secret associations to which the tumults of 1848

and 1849, on the Continent, have been ascribed, are not in reality causes but effects, symptoms, indications of a diseased state of society—a state in which there is no sufficient employment, no circulation of that industry which is the life-blood of society. If Mr. Cobden be right in considering this social state pacific in its elements and tendencies, all political economy, as well as all history, must be wrong.

The true balance of good and evil, between the former social economy of Europe and that which has displaced it in every country but Great Britain, cannot, in fact, be struck in the present age. The social body on the Continent is in a transition state. The old institutions and arrangements have withered away, and the new have not yet taken root and unfolded themselves. Feudality, aristocracy, ecclesiastical influence among the rulers or the ruled, the hereditary jurisdiction of nobles, their exemptions, privileges, monopolies of state employments, and above all, the *prestige* which still lingered in the European mind in favour of nobility, clergy, and the hereditary royal dynasties, have been more shaken by the movements of 1848 and 1849, than by the French revolution. They have been gradually giving way since 1790, and can never be revived in France, and Germany. A social revolution has been completed by the distribution of landed property through society, and by the policy of substituting functionarism for nobility, and the landwehr for a standing army for the support of the monarchical principle. This radical change in the elements of the social body on the Continent, has been accomplished, and the annihilation of the influences which have ruled society in Germany for a thousand years, has become a great standing fact in

European history. Old abuses cannot be removed without a shock to the social system, without a reaction which may involve a generation in the misery of civil war and anarchy; and yet the ultimate results may be good. The Reformation was not accomplished until the thirty years' war had carried desolation into every corner of Germany, yet the progress of society could not be stayed, the human mind could not be turned back, and the Reforamtion was esbtalished. That Reformation of the 16th century, the change from the religious doctrines and forms of the Church of Rome to those of Luther, was but a trifling change for society, and for the worldly interests of men, compared to this great change in the structure and elements of society itself, which is now in progress on the Continent. This social reformation of the 19th century may, like the religious reformation of the 16th, undergo a similar protracted struggle, yet have a similar termination in great social good.

CHAP. VII.

NOTES ON THE LOIRE — ON THE CHANGE IN THE FRENCH CHARACTER FROM GAIETY TO SERIOUSNESS — ON THE WANT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT. — EXTRAVAGANT SCALE OF ALL PUBLIC WORKS FROM THIS WANT OF CONTROL. — CENTRALISATION AND NON-CENTRALISATION ILLUSTRATED IN THE ROADS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND. — THE TASTE FOR DISPLAY IN THE FRENCH CHARACTER. — DIFFERENCE OF THE OBJECTS ON WHICH INCOME IS EXPENDED IN ENGLAND AND IN FRANCE. — SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE DIFFERENT EXPENDITURE OF EQUAL INCOMES BY THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH FAMILY. — THE CIVILISING INFLUENCE OF THE DIFFUSION OF THE USEFUL ARTS GREATER THAN OF THE FINE ARTS. — ON THE EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE WITH MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY. — INCOURAGEMENT BY THE CONTINENTAL GOVERNMENTS OF THE MANUFACTURE OF EARTHENWARE — THE EFFECTS. — FRENCH CARTS. — PLOUGHS OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES. — WORKING COWS AND HEIFERS. — SPADE-WORK COMPARED WITH PLOUGH-WORK. — VINE CULTURE. — TOURAINE INTERESTING TO ENGLISH TRAVELLERS — HOUSES — MANNER OF LIVING — HISTORICAL CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND.

THE Loire! the murmuring Loire! Flowery meads and waving groves — the pipe and tabor — the merry dance — the care-free laugh — the joyous lay — moonlight every night — whispering lovers under every tree — a nightingale on every bough — are not these the imaginations of and about the Loire that Goldsmith has conjured up in the fancy of every reading youth of sixteen? Alas! dull Mrs. Reality, in her every day face and check apron, sweeps away those gay imaginings from the poets' corner of the traveller's brain. The Loire, in sober verity, is the least picturesque or romantic, as well as the least useful of Eu-

ropean rivers. It stagnates for half the year among beds of sand, mud, and gravel, over which it boils and rages the other half, a thick yellow torrent. An ancient embankment or wall, called the *levé*, raised along the right hand side of the stream, to prevent it from inundating the flat land behind, forms the bank of the Loire, and defends the low swampy meadows between the river channel and the higher ground of the side of the valley from the sand and gravel carried down by the torrent in winter. The land on the left side of the river channel has not been thought worth defending, and the water has leave to cover it with sand and rubbish in the floods, and to stagnate in pools between the sand banks in the dry season. To avoid ague the country people have housed themselves generally upon the heights of the clay or chalk ridge which forms the right hand side of the river valley, and where the ridge is steep, and rises in upright cliffs at the upper edge, habitations have been excavated in the soft rock, in old times, and still serve as dwellings — perhaps the most ancient in Europe. The land beyond the alluvial soil of the river valley, is generally a thin hungry sand, and gravel, on which a natural green sward of grass is a stranger. Bush and hard spikes of shrubs thinly bristling up through the brown surface of the soil, are the natural growth of the country above the level of the inundations of the river. The two most common and extensive natural coverings of the land in the island of Great Britain, heather in the north, and grass in the south, are very uncommon on the Continent. A hundred acres together of the fine natural grass of an English park, or of the purple blooming knee-deep heather of a Scotch hill-side, would probably not be found on

any line from the Baltic to the Adriatic. The peasantry in this part of France are an under-sized black-haired ugly variety of the southern race of the European people. Their brown skins, stretched by premature toil, hang loose and in wrinkles about their small bones, as if too wide for the frame-work they cover. The woman of thirty looks three score. Gaiety! — Gaiety is not at home on the banks of the Loiré in our generation. The possession of property has sobered the French character, and brought into it the serious thoughtful reflective spirit which belongs to the proprietor. Who are the gay? The slave and the servant are gay. The soldier and the sailor are gay. All men are gay, who are free from moral and social responsibilities, and from the duties, cares, and interests of property: but this gaiety which, as we learn from travellers, was peculiarly characteristic of the French peasantry of the generation preceding the revolution, and which is certainly not so now, is not the indication of a high social condition. The negro slave and the child are the gayest of human beings; but are they in the highest and happiest state human nature can attain to, because they are thoughtless, reckless, care-free, and gay? There appears to be some connection even between gaiety and a low, non-intellectual, oppressed life — between the carnivals, holidays, wakes, popular games, public amusements, and such gay doings, which some well meaning people would be glad to see revived among us as tokens of a happy state of society — and a very low and debased social condition. In the countries and ages, at least, in which these have flourished the most, the people have, at the same time, been in the most degraded state, without property, industry, or freedom. England was merry England when the people were serfs,

butchering each other in the wars of the Roses, at the command of their nobles. The Scotch were a gay dancing tuneful people, while they were cattle-stealing clansmen. When they became cattle-owning drovers of their own four-footed property, their merriment gradually died away before the cares and considerations of a money-making peaceful life. The Italians, the French of the age of Louis XIV., and, at the present day, the poorest, least industrious, and most oppressed of the cities and countries on the Continent, abound most in festivals, public places of amusement, concerts, balls, and all the indications of a light-hearted gaiety; and just in proportion to their poverty, idleness, and want of civil and political freedom. The possession of property has made the French peasant-proprietor a man of grave and serious deportment. Frivolity, carelessness, and gaiety are no longer his national characteristics.

Here in France, where government controls all private enterprise and action, centralises in its *bureaux* all that directly or indirectly concerns the public, and plans and executes all public works upon its own judgment and by its own functionaries, not leaving any thing to be executed by the judgment and agency of the public itself and of those locally interested in the work, the traveller finds a remarkable disproportion between the value and importance of the object to be attained and the cost of attaining it. This is perhaps the first observation he makes when he steps on shore at the quay of Calais, takes a walk down its magnificent wooden jetty — one of the greatest wooden structures of its kind, of our times — and then walks round the harbour and sees the trifling

amount of trade, the paltry muster of fishing-boats and coasting-vessels, for which this magnificent work has been constructed. He is strongly impressed with the disproportion between the means and the end. In France, Germany, and over all the Continent, whatever may be the form of government, the spirit of self-government is equally dormant among the people. It is the state that does every thing, whether in form this state-power be constitutional or autocratic. The state alone plans and executes all works of general or local interests, by its own functionaries, and independently of the judgment of those locally interested. Roads, canals, bridges, quays, and public buildings, are consequently constructed, not in a commensurate and due proportion in extent and expense to the want to be provided for, but upon a disproportionate scale, and for some imaginary and exaggerated future state of things, and with an excess of magnificence and expenditure ridiculously in contrast with the small importance of the object, and the actual or possible wants of the community and locality. This extravagance disables the governments from accomplishing other as necessary works, in a useful way, and accounts for the incongruities of stately buildings and public works standing empty, or unused, or half-finished, and all around them in neglect and ruin. The means of a country, like those of an individual, may be misapplied and wasted upon the most useful undertakings, as well as upon the most useless, if no proportion be observed between the expense of attaining the object and its value when attained. This disproportion between cost and advantage to the public, is the great characteristic of all public works in all states in which the people have no control or

voice in the management of their own affairs. It is the architectural style of despotism. The high roads of France, running in straight lines from the metropolis to the distant provincial chief towns, like rays from a common centre, are among the most magnificent public works in Europe. They are paved in the middle like streets, have summer roads on each side of this causeway on the softer ground, are of an imposing breadth, are bordered on each side with formal rows of poplar trees, and are very grand, but very tiresome avenues from town to town. These magnificent spacious paved high roads have proved very costly to France — costly in the time, labour, and prosperity of the country population, recklessly expended in constructing them on so extravagant a scale — costly to the government that constructed them, for they cost the elder branch of the Bourbons the throne of France. It was the *corvées*, or forced labour of the peasants, without any allowance of wages or food, applied to the construction of these magnificent roads, which was the great grievance that alienated the agricultural class from the monarchy, and mainly led to the French revolution. This extravagant tyrannical expenditure of their time and labour, abstracted from productive employment, and applied to these roads, useful, no doubt, as all roads are, but not necessary on a scale of such great magnificence, was a never ending impoverishing employment of the whole population, generation after generation, without any proportionate advantage.

In England road-making began to be attended to in the same age; but it was the private interest of the public, as it may be called, that was the road-maker-general — the judge-general of the necessity, expe-

diency, and scale of the road—the planner, undertaker, executor, and paymaster of the work. The legislature had, no doubt, to sanction the taking of land, the levying of tolls, and other rights which the private parties or local interests required for enabling their road-trustees to act; but the government had nothing to do with the plan, funds, or execution. There was no branch of the Home Office like the "Département des Ponts et Chaussées" in France, whose officials alone could plan and execute all road-undertakings. There was no general tax, like the heavy and odious chaussée tax, converted, in 1804, along with the tobacco and licence duties, into the hated *droits réunis*. It is curious to see what, in about a century and a half, has been the difference of the results in the two countries—the difference between the centralisation of the funds, management, and execution of all roads, bridges, and public works, in the hands of a board or department of the state employing officials of the highest skill and scientific attainments, men bred regularly for the duties of this department—and the non-centralisation of this great and all-important national business, the leaving it to the public to plan, execute, and manage for themselves, through their own trustees and undertakers, and under their own control, what, in each county or locality, was considered useful, necessary, or beneficial, without interference or superintendence at all by any government-functionary. The question of centralisation or non-centralisation is here brought to the test of experience. In 1828, Count Molé and Baron Pasquier state, in a Report upon the roads of France, made by order of government (the latest I have access to), that the highways used, or to be

opened, extend to 8584 leagues; and of these, 3572 leagues only, or less than one half, are in a state of good repair, 3582 leagues are in a state of dilapidation, and 365 leagues are not opened; and, besides the yearly repairs, it would require 198 millions of francs (about eight millions of pounds sterling) to restore and complete the main lines of communication called royal roads, or national highways, in France. This is not the state of our roads in Great Britain, under our non-centralisation system. Instead of 3572 leagues, or 10,716 miles of road in good repair, England and Wales alone, according to a Report made to parliament in 1848, have 22,382 miles 3 furlongs of turnpike roads, besides the parish roads not under turnpike-trust management; and this is in an area computed by geographers at 58,335 square miles, the roads of Scotland not being included in the Report: while France, with an area of 148,840 square miles, has but 10,716 miles of good roads. The island, in fact, is covered with a network of roads and cross-roads, the best in the world, constructed by the public in each locality for themselves, by their own local, county, or parish authorities and trustees, according to their own knowledge of the wants of each locality, paid for by their own rates and turnpike tolls, and with no such interference, superintendence, management, or execution by any department of government through its functionaries, as on the Continent. The funds also are raised from those who use or are benefited by the roads; and, not passing through the hands of government, cannot be alienated or withheld, in times of pressure upon the Exchequer, for other national requirements. According to Montesquiou's Report, in 1814, a sum of fifteen and a half

millions of francs voted for roads was applied to military uses under Napoleon's government. It is not to be denied that, under the English system of non-centralisation and non-interference of government, one square mile in England contains, on an average, a greater number of good roads than any ten in France or Germany, and with more traffic on them. France has, no doubt, some very superb main roads from the metropolis to the capital provincial cities; but these are good and well maintained only for a few leagues beyond the barriers of each town, and only on the routes on which the mail-coaches, the military, the public functionaries, and the travellers *en poste* usually pass. The cross-country roads, the side communications with the *grande chaussée*, the cart-roads, all the feeders of the stream of industry which facility of transport from place to place pours out over a land, are in a wretched state in France and Germany, even in the vicinity of important cities. The difference between the two systems—the continental system of government doing every thing, and centralising all public interests in its own management, and our old system of leaving the public to manage their own interests by themselves, and through their own local institutions, without interference of government, unless in the rare exceptional cases in which private interests acting detrimentally to the public advantage, are not opposed and checked by other private interests—is brought out strongly by the results of the two systems in that primary step to all improvement, the road-making through a country.

The taste for display appears to have worked downwards in France, from the government to the governed,

or else to be some original and natural bias of mind common to the people and their rulers. It enters largely into the character of the French nation. As in the public works, such as roads, quays, buildings, there is a ridiculous disproportion between the magnificent construction, and the ordinary end to be attained, so in private life the traveller is struck by a similar disproportion between the display of elegance and luxury in some things, and the obvious want of comfort and accommodation in others. There is, at least to English taste, feelings, and notions of the suitable and comfortable in household life, an absurd incongruity between elegant silk curtain draperies in the windows, rich and beautiful paper on the walls, velvet-seated chairs, gilt stools, sofas, and ottomans of classic forms, mirrors of vast size, splendid and costly ornaments of porcelain in profusion, and with these, cold, raw, brick or stone or wooden floors and staircases, without carpets; the doors and window cases rudely finished, door locks, handles, hinges, rough, unpolished, and clumsy; poor coarse earthenware for the bedrooms, and in very scanty supply; wretched table knives, and not enough of them at table; and in every article of daily domestic use, a want of the abundance, neatness, and polish, we require about us in our ordinary households. The taste for effect, for appearance, elegance, and show, has outstripped the taste for utility, substantiality, and comfort, in the civilisation of the French people. This taste or spirit affects materially the national wealth and industry of France. In England, a man of the middle, or even of the lower class employs, with his taste for the useful and the comfortable, a great deal more of the industry of others, is a much better customer in the

markets of his country, sets a-going much more labour and skill to supply his multifarious wants, than the French or other continental man of equal income, with his more refined taste for the elegant and showy. Our middle class householder will have of household goods about him, carpets, mahogany chairs, tables, chests of drawers, curtained beds, washhand stands, crockeryware in abundance, and good cutleryware; and in his stock of wearing apparel, shirts, drawers, stockings, handkerchiefs, and such articles, whether seen or unseen, in comfortable plenty. The continental man, of the same middle class and means, will often be deficient in a good stock of the unseen habiliments, but will have a shirt pin, a chain, a ring, of quite as much value as all the articles of an Englishman's wardrobe put together. In his dwelling there may be a distressing deficiency of washhand basons, ewers, chamber-pots, mugs, bowls, dishes, but there will be an elegant vase or ornament of porcelain, which has cost as much as all that we miss of earthenware for use and comfort would have done. The amount expended by each of these two middle-class men may be the same, but the amount of industry set to work to gratify the homely taste of the English middle-class man for the useful and comfortable, is very much greater and more diffused in the labour market, than the amount employed in gratifying the more refined taste of the French middle-class man for the one or two costly articles of show and elegance that he prefers. Suppose an English country town suddenly transformed, by the stroke of a magician's wand, into a French or German town of the same population, and the same income of the upper class of inhabitants. Two-thirds of the tradesmen, shop-

keepers, artisans, and labourers, who lived by supplying the English population with the multifarious articles of common handicraft industry it required, would be thrown out of work and bread, from the want of consumption, and demand for such articles among the French or German population; and yet the amount of income expended yearly by each population might be the same. It is the diffusion of the expenditure, the employment given by it to ordinary labour and handicraft work, that would be different. The innumerable articles for comfort and convenience, in which the income of the English family of ordinary means and station is expended, would be represented in the French or German family of the same means and station, by a few more costly and elegant articles of a higher taste and art, but employing a comparatively small number of workmen to produce them. It is this general diffusion of the expenditure of income in England among all classes of the working community, instead of the expenditure being compressed into a few objects of luxury and taste, produced by a small number of superior artists, and the daily return of the English expenditure for a new supply of the common articles it is laid out upon for domestic use, while the return for the more costly articles of show or taste is seldom oftener than once in a year, or even once in a lifetime, that knits together our lower and upper classes, our employed and employers, more closely than on the Continent. The very lowest labourer or handicraftsman knows that he lives by the prosperity and daily expenditure of his employers—by their custom, as he calls it, in his trade; and he has a common interest and a regular intercourse with his customers. The operatives employed in the pro-

duction of articles of luxury only required at distant intervals by any customers, the jewellers, watchmakers, coachmakers, trinketmakers, bronze ornament makers, who in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, were in 1848 the principal agitators, and were, in reality, the masters of the government, would make a small figure in any English city, compared to the vast body of common tradesmen interested, as much as their daily customers, in putting down all disturbance dangerous to property, peace, and their own daily living by the exercise of their trades. The simplicity, or, as some may call it, the vulgarity of the taste of the English people, which will rather have a heap of well-finished comfortable articles about them in the kitchen, parlour, and bedroom, than a mirror, a statue, a porcelain vase, or an or-moulu clock of the same value, on the chimney-piece of the drawing-room, is a very conservative taste for the country. It gives employment that unites the lower classes of society, the common labourer, the operative artisan or handicraftsman in the most ordinary trades, with the upper or capitalist classes, by the direct ties of mutual wants, common interests, and habits of frequent, or almost daily, personal intercourse, as employers and employed, in producing, altering, replacing the innumerable articles with which the English family surrounds itself. The superfluity of ingenious articles of admirable workmanship for the most ordinary household purposes, which fills every corner of an English dwelling, surprises the foreign traveller, and is one of the most characteristic features of English domestic life.

A people are civilised, not by means of or in proportion to the diffusion among them of the tastes and feelings for the fine arts, not by their cultivation of the

æsthetic, but by the diffusion of the desire for, and enjoyment of the vulgar physical gratifications, conveniences, and comforts produced by the ordinary useful arts, and which money can procure in every inhabited locality. The money is procured by the exercise of those very arts; and by industry, integrity, good conduct, and exertion of mind and body applied to their production. What employs the industry and ingenuity of the many, is of more civilising influence in society than what only employs the genius of the few; and on this account, the civilisation and well-being of a people depend more on the use and outlay than on the amount of their wealth. A half-naked African girl carries more wealth in the gold and jewels of her earrings and bracelets, than a well-dressed lady, with us, expends in the various articles of her equipment, which, from her straw bonnet and ribbons to her kid-skin or satin shoes, employ such a countless variety of trades and branches of industry. Where a people, or a class, such as the peasant-proprietors in the countries in which the distribution of land in small estates is of very ancient standing, have much wealth locked up in gold and silver ornaments, it is both a sign and a cause of a low non-progressive social condition. In Turkey, in Russia, and over all the East, much wealth is yearly invested and locked up in this unproductive way, while the owners live in a rude state without many of the most essential gratifications of civilised life. The same tendency, without the same excuse of the insecurity of property, is observable in the boors of North Holland, and in all the peasant-proprietors from the Eyder to the Scheld. In France and Germany, even among the highest and wealthiest, a few

costly articles of the highest taste and finish, standing in bare comfortless half-furnished houses, do not represent or promote so much employment and well-being among the mass of the people, as the thousands of articles of very inferior price produced by the co-operative industry of tens of thousands of tradesmen, which the mistress of an English house, in the middle class of society, crams into her rooms from the scullery to the garret.

The effect of government interference with manufacturing industry in the useful arts, by a well-intended encouragement and patronage, is curiously illustrated in the fabrication of earthenware,—in the pottery of France. No art contributes more to the comfort and enjoyment of life among the middle and lower classes, than that of fabricating good and cheap earthenware. We see in England, in passing every cottage, in what estimation good earthenware is held by the lower classes, from the rows of plates and dishes which adorn the shelf over the chimney-piece, in the poorest habitation of the labouring man. It is always the first outlay of his wife, in objects of comfort in their living. In France, in Louis XIV.'s time, the government encouraged, patronised, and carried on upon its own account, the manufacture of earthenware, in order to introduce a finer quality and better taste, and to extend the fabrication of pottery as a great branch of national industry. The undertaking was successful, and no English manufacturers could pretend to vie with the taste, beauty, and fine quality of the porcelain of the royal manufactory at Sevres. But what, in the course of time, has been the result? The French government succeeded in

giving the people a taste for, and a supply of, the ornamental and costly, but not of the useful, cheap, and comfortable in earthenware. Their ordinary every-day pottery is clumsy, heavy, ill-made, and scanty. A tradesman with us has, in proportion to the number in his family, a supply of plates, dishes, bowls, basins, pitchers, cups, saucers, and such earthenware, of superior quality and in greater abundance, than you find in elegantly furnished hotels, or in the dwellings of wealthy families especially in the country, and the country towns. All the continental sovereigns, in imitation of Louis XIV., became manufacturers of porcelain by way of encouraging the manufacture, and they encouraged it all away. Berlin, Dresden, even Copenhagen, and Stockholm, had their royal pottery works, in which, as might be expected, the improvement and cheap production of ordinary household articles were not the objects, but the good taste, fine quality, elegance, and execution of ornamental wares. Instead of rising as this manufacture, left to itself, has done in England, to be one of the most important branches of national industry, a source of great trade, employment, and wealth, and of great comfort to the people, the earthenware manufacture in France, Saxony, and Prussia, languishes in its costly magnificence, and has never recovered the government-nursing. In Paris, Berlin, or Dresden, you may buy an ornamental vase for your drawing-room table, or chimney-piece, beautiful to behold, and well worth the ten or twelve sovereigns it may cost you, as a work of fine art; but you find it difficult to lay out the same money to your satisfaction in earthenware for your bedrooms, dining-room, and kitchen,

that is not, if compared to English earthenware for the same uses, coarse, heavy, clumsy, and dear.

We are so accustomed in Britain to have every thing we use produced for us by combinations of skill, capital, and art applied to the particular object only, and produced consequently in the utmost perfection and neatness of workmanship, that we scarcely know how the same end may be attained with implements, processes, or means much more rude and simple. We are apt to look with contempt at the implements or means with which the unaided workman labours in other countries, and we can scarcely believe that the work may be done, and sometimes done as well and effectually, by the simpler and cheaper, as by the more artificial and expensive means. This observation is *à propos* of French carts, which I have been examining with some attention. A French cart! what can be more paltry and contemptible? An English broad-wheeled waggon is to a French cart, the cupola of St. Paul's to a hencoop, and the value or cost is almost in the same proportion. The Scotch farm cart even, with its framing, dovetailing, and iron work, its flaring light-blue body and bright red shafts and wheels, and its cost, 16*l.* or 18*l.*, is a magnificent machine compared to the French; yet, what is it to the English waggon, costing from 80*l.* to 120*l.*, in its full vehicular grandeur? Yet, there must be some good points too about the French cart. Some few of the present generation may have a slight recollection, that French carts have, in the course of the present century, visited almost every metropolis, rolled on the pavement of almost every town or city of the Continent, have made their way over the

roughest of mountain roads in Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal, and through the deepest of miry roads in Holland, Germany, and Poland. The traveller, too, will observe that cartage must be to France what coasting-trade is to England — the principal mode of transporting the bulky or heavy products of one part of the country to another. Canals, or river communications, are scarce in proportion to the extent of the country. Seaports are far apart, and in general only connected with the interior of the country by cartage. If the roads are bad, the carts must be good to travel on them. The French ought certainly to understand something about carts; and the traveller of any spirit of observation will not be content with his first impression, that they are paltry inferior machines, but will endeavour to find out what good may be about them.

In French ideas, two good high wheels and a stout iron axle are the only essential parts of a cart. All the rest cannot be too rough, cheap, and readily replaced. Two long spars laid across an iron axle and bolted into it, are the shafts and body; a few loose boards are the bottom; and a few upright sticks stuck into the spars with some loose side boards, and all moveable, form the sides, back, and front, for keeping the load in its place. A man who can handle an axe, could cut and fit up the whole out of the next hedge, in an hour or two, excepting the wheels and axle. The French wheels are remarkably strong and well made. Wheelwright work is, perhaps, the only kind of woodwork that is executed as substantially and neatly as with us. The wheels are of a larger diameter in common carts and waggons than we use. There is some reason or rule for it. The

centre of gravity of the cart is the centre of the axle, the centre of moving power is the breast or shoulder of the horse, and the horizontal line between the two is the shortest and most favourable line of draught. The height, therefore, of the centre of the axle from the ground should be equal to the height of the horse's shoulder or point of draught, and to obtain this favourable line of draught, the French wheels are generally made of larger diameter than ours, although their draught horses are not taller, perhaps not so tall on an average, as our breed. The harness is on the same principle as the cart. What is cheapest and most easily made and mended, is deemed the best. There is good sense in this. The traces, even to post-horses, are nothing but pieces of white rope; and what we call simmet, or platted flat white rope, supplies all the straps of shining black leather with brass buckles, which constitute a set of harness in our horse equipment. If any thing is too long or too short, or gives way, knotting, splicing, and *sacréing*, put all to rights in a few minutes. The collars alone are of leather. The turn out is certainly beggarly in appearance, and so universal in France, that it stands in page the first of the note-book of every tourist, and satisfies all young lady or gentleman travellers, in the first half league of their travels, of the prodigious inferiority of the French people in civilisation, as even their private carriages and post chaises are yoked with ropes. But it is ridiculous too, we must allow, with our expensive carts and harness, to see a carter or ploughman unyoking his team, and losing half a day's work in going to the cartwright or harness maker, to get a staple or chain, or board in his dovetailed cartbox

repaired, or to get the tongue of a buckle in the harness replaced or mended, when a hammer and nail, or a knot or splice could, in the more simple French cart and its outfit, repair the damage on the spot, in a few minutes, and make the whole as good as ever. Brass-mounted harness, shining leather straps, quilted leather traces and thongs, and all the tinkling glories of a crack English team, are no doubt, very pretty to look at; but they are always followed, about Christmas, by a bit of paper not quite so agreeable to the farmer's eye; the account of the harness maker, sadler, cartwright, and smith. Five shillings would probably buy all the gear, excepting the collar, of any cart or post-horse fully accoutred for draught, even in the coach work, in France; and where there are no buckles, a knot is the legitimate mode of repair, and a knot costs nothing. There is very little of the ridiculous in this simplicity of outfit after all; since it is undeniably effective, cheaper, and more readily repaired, or replaced on the spot, in case of breakage, than our more costly and splendid carts and harness.

The ploughs of different countries or districts, however much they differ in construction, weight, length, or in accessories of wheels and shares of various forms, may all be classed into two divisions, working on two distinct principles of husbandry. The Scotch plough, with all the variations and improvements of it, works upon the principle and for the purpose of cleaving and turning up the soil. The Kentish or turnwrist plough, and all ploughs on the Continent, have an additional purpose, and work on another principle of farming; viz., that of preserving a bed, sole, or floor, at a certain depth,

and stirring and turning only the soil above this floor, and never breaking into it. One will have a clear idea of this principle and of the state of the old arable land of the Continent, by supposing an earthen barn-floor, firm and hard, and a bed of fertile mould of sufficient depth for vegetation laid upon it. The object of the construction of all the continental ploughs, and of the old Kentish plough, is to form and consolidate this floor, and to stir and turn only the bed of mould resting upon it, and which contains all the manure, but to avoid rending the floor itself and mixing it with the upper fertilised stratum. The object, again, of the construction of the Scotch plough, and of the class to which it belongs, is to deepen the soil without regard to this floor, and to mix and fertilise the upper and lower strata together. Which is better would be an idle question, as the nature of the soil and subsoil, the natural and artificial drainage of the land, the kind of manure and the command of it, the strength of the working stock, and even the length of lease, may make the one system more eligible than the other and the best for the circumstances. The countries and districts of oldest cultivation, both abroad and in England, appear in general to be cultivated on the principle of preserving intact the floor, bed, or pan as it is called in Norfolk, on which the vegetable soil rests, and their ploughs, whatever variations may be found in the form, have a foot or block of wood, below which the proscissory parts of the implement do not work, and the depth at which the earth is to be stirred is regulated by an adjustment of the beam on two wheels, or by some equivalent check upon the ploughman going too deep and tearing up the bed. It may be that the want of strength of working horses and gear, in

old times, rendered this practice in husbandry universal in Europe; but the principle appears to be approved of at the present day in Norfolk, Essex, Kent, Surrey, and some other of the best-farmed districts of England, in which the ploughs are all of the construction which cannot stir the earth at an unequal or uncertain depth, and by which the *pan* or bed on which the cultivated fertilised soil rests, cannot be raised or broken.

A single-horse plough, with shafts like those of a gig instead of traces, is used on the Continent in forming drills. Whether shafts or traces be the better working-gear for horses is still undecided, I believe, by practical farmers; but shafts are generally used now in the horse artillery of most countries, which is a presumptive proof of some superiority.

All over France and Germany, especially in the valley of the Rhine, a great deal of the agricultural labour, probably more than one-half of it, is done by oxen or heifers, not by horses. It is not at all uncommon to see three-year-old heifers, and even milking cows, in the yoke; and cows not in milk are worked regularly. The female cattle step out more nimbly than oxen, in the cart or plough. The slow pace of oxen makes them, as working stock, unsuitable on our large farms, on which a great deal of work, in spring and autumn, must be got through expeditiously; and many farmers in our improved districts never probably saw a yoke of oxen. A long team of five horses on end, in Kent, in the deep clay soils, makes very little more speed with the Kentish turnwrist plough, than a pair of oxen on the Continent in a similar stiff clay soil would do; but oxen

are generally given up, as working stock, by all intelligent farmers with us. On the small farms of peasant proprietors on the Continent, they, are, however, not so unsuitable. The climate is not so pressing on the proprietor; rye, also, which is the main crop and principal bread-corn of the Continent, is much earlier ripe than wheat or barley, and is harvested in July, before the autumn weather sets in with its wind and rain. The cost of keeping horses is willingly saved on these small farms, at the expense of additional time and much hard work with the spade. The most suitable way of yoking cattle seems better understood, and the ease and freedom of the animal in the yoke more considered than with us, in the best districts in which oxen are still used for draught. As cattle will not bear any weight on the back or shoulders, the oxen carts on the Continent, in general, are four-wheeled, with shafts for one or for two oxen abreast, and they draw by their foreheads. A piece of wood close behind the roots of the horns, hollowed out to fit the rise and shape of the neck at its junction with the head, is strapped on by a strong leathern thong, to a pad across the forehead in front of the horns. The light wooden shafts of the four-wheeled cart or waggon are either connected by thongs with this head-gear, or being bent inwards considerably, their ends pass through holes made to receive them in the wings of the piece of wood across the neck. The animal yoked in this way steps out at a pace that shows he is much more comfortable, and more free and at his ease in his motions, than in our old, painful, and barbarous way of yoking oxen with a heavy beam of wood resting on their necks, and sustaining the weight of the load in a two-wheeled cart, and with

iron bows which gall their skins, to draw by from the shoulders. The strength of the ox is in the neck and forehead, not in the shoulder. In ploughing, harrowing, and carting light loads, cows and heifers are used as freely as we would mares. It would, no doubt, be ridiculous on a large Scotch or English farm to use cattle, especially cows and heifers, in farm work. But things are ridiculous only when they are not adapted to their ends. Cattle are not adapted to the despatch and economy of time necessary on a large farm worked with hired labourers and servants. The case is very different on a small farm worked by the peasant-proprietor's own family, whose time is not valued, at least not paid for in money, and is not convertible into money where there is no demand for hired labour. On such small farms the keeping of horses may, from the small extent of land, be unsuitable or perhaps impracticable, and the keeping of cows or oxen profitable. Circumstances of situation, soil, work to be done, state of roads, and many other considerations, may turn the scale, even on larger farms, in favour of working cattle instead of horses, without any thing ridiculous in the practice. A man who is owner of the land he works on, is not under the same necessity of getting through his work so speedily as the man who has to hire labour; and on such little farms on the Continent, the cattle and the spade do the work. The cow or heifer eats, therefore it is not at all ridiculous to make her work; and the harrowing, ploughing between furrows, and such light work, may be done well with the female cattle. They are much more handy to manage and quicker in pace, than oxen.

The small farmer on the Continent does much with the spade. A very large proportion — perhaps the largest proportion — of the land of France if we include the vine culture, is under spade husbandry. For turning, dividing, and mixing the soil, the spade is a more efficient instrument than the plough: the work is done better, but not so expeditiously. In America the emigrant must begin with spade husbandry, however large his lot of uncleared uncultivated land may be. The spade is quite expeditious enough to keep up with the axe in the forest. It is a matter of some importance, therefore, to know what spade work can do in producing food enough from the land to support the emigrant's family, until he has cleared an arable area to keep a cattle stock, or horses, for ploughing and harrowing. Some information on the subject may not be unacceptable to many.

An English acre contains 4840 square yards, or 43,560 square feet, and is equal to 1135 square toises, Paris measure. The French acre, Paris measure, is 900 square toises. Now, it was found by experiments in France that, taking an average of men and soils, a man digs in 10 days 256 square toises of land, or something more than 1-5th and less than 1-4th of an acre. This was close work; so that 1-5th is probably as much as could be done. Now, a family of 3 working persons would dig 7 acres, supposing it all clear of bushes and roots, in 116 or 117 days. The 7 acres, supposing the soil poor but improveable, could scarcely be expected to yield above 4 returns and the seed, or about 28 bolls of meal. Part of the land dug may be occupied with potatoes or other crops, and the labour is thereby divided according to the suitable seasons for planting or sowing them, and

the kinds of food diversified; but the total quantity of food raised the first year will probably not differ much from this normal production of 28 bolls of meal, or its equivalent. On good land of old cultivation, 6 returns and the seed may be considered an average crop in England. The grain raised on poor unmanured land does not yield meal from the grain, equal in quantity to the meal produced from good grain. It is, therefore, a fair assumption that 28 bolls of meal, or food equivalent to that quantity, will be the subsistence gained from 7 acres of dug land. Now, take the common allowance in Scotland to farm servants, of 4 stones of meal per month, where meal only is given in lieu of all food, the 3 persons will have 18 bolls of meal for their subsistence, or the value of that quantity if they can sell it, and 10 bolls over, for clothing, shoes, and other necessaries of the family. It is evident that a family with 2 or 3 working persons in it could live by spade husbandry, and every year, as they improved and reclaimed their land, their living would be easier.

How does spade husbandry stand in comparison with horse husbandry? To plough, harrow, and work 50 acres of land is generally reckoned by writers on agriculture, to be full work for a pair of horses all the year round; but practically, a farm of 150 acres under crop must be of very light dry soil if 3 pairs of horses do the work. If we take 30 acres of such raw damp soil as the emigrant must in general begin with, and take into consideration the half-starved horses and the stoppage of winter-ploughing by snow in Canada, it is probably allowing more to a pair of horses than they can really do. The keep of a pair of horses and a ploughman, the

wages, and the tear and wear of implements and horses, cannot be reckoned under 65*l.* a year in any country. The ploughing, harrowing, and all horse work on 30 acres, would thus be 65*l.* Now the digging of 30 acres, on the above data of 1-5th of an acre in 10 days per man, and allowing a shilling per day as the value of his work, would amount to 75*l.*, making 10*l.* in 30 acres in favour of horse-husbandry, as compared to spade-husbandry. But, on the other hand, the value of the work, the time, and the labour are within the spade-cultivator's own family, and would be running to waste and lying idle, if not employed in digging. One ploughman could work the 30 acres in the same time that 6 men would take to dig one-fourth of the area; and, if beneficial employment could be found for 5 of the 6 spademen, the saving of labour and time by horse-husbandry is unquestionable. But where the time and labour saved cannot be employed at all, from the want of manufactures, trades, or capitalists, as in great part of France and Germany, and in all our new colonies, the superiority of horse-husbandry over spade-husbandry is not so evident nor so real as with us. The time and labour saved are saved for idleness, not for work in some other branch of industry.

The culture of the vine is altogether a spade, not a horse, husbandry; and it may rather be called a branch of manufacture than of husbandry in France. The product of the culture affords neither food nor clothing-material directly to the cultivator himself. It is only indirectly, by the sale of his product, and the purchase of the necessaries of life, that his land and labour produce subsistence. The hand labour employed in digging, hoeing, and cleaning about the

vines, stiking the plants, and binding them as they grow to the sticks, and all the other operations of the vineyard, is very great; yet this is but the smallest part of the employment given by the vine culture. The cooperage in all the wine districts is an immense branch of industry. The cartage is immense. Wine production is in fact one of the greatest manufactures in the world. The diffusion by land and sea, over all civilised countries, of wines of French growth, exceeds that of any other article of European production. The outlay for labourage, poles, cooper work, cartage, makes the vineyard a kind of speculation for a class of proprietors of higher capital than the ordinary peasant-proprietors. They purchase or hire extensive tracts under vines; and labourers who have no vineyards of their own, or no land suitable for it, undertake the work of the vineyard at so much per acre, and hire additional hands when necessary. The culture of the vine partakes so much more of manufacturing employment than of husbandry, that in the wine-growing districts it is not at all uncommon on a market-day to see the peasants returning from the town with their baskets full of vegetables—not going to the market with vegetables to sell. They buy their garden stuffs, which enter largely into the diet of the people of France, from a class of market gardeners within, or close to the town walls, and who have a command of manure. The manure, time, and labour, where there is a vineyard, cannot be spared for garden vegetables. The maize, which is the general food in the wine countries, takes the place of grain crops, and a small area produces enough for the subsistence of the family, leaving the rest of the land for vines. The maize, indeed, is sometimes planted in the rows

between the vines, but the practice is considered injurious to the vine plants. The employment of labour in the production of wine, and in all the accessory trades connected with its transport to the consumers, is great, and it is, for the greater part, common hand labour, not labour of skill, but like all employment not applied direct to the production of the labourer's own food, the supply exceeds the demand. There are seasons also of comparative failure in the vintage, and all the trades and branches of industry connected with the wine production, and which employ many more people than the husbandry of the vineyard itself, are thrown into misery. The year's work and preparation are lost, and with these the means of subsisting until another vintage. This is the reason of what travellers so often observe with wonder, that the population in the wine countries, although the products are the most valuable that land can produce, appear much more wretched, ragged, and ill off, than the population in the other provinces of France. They are, in fact, a manufacturing rather than an agricultural population; and are ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-lodged, because the article they manufacture is of uncertain production, the area is limited in which it can be produced, while the supply of labour in every kind of employment connected with it knows no limit but the extreme of wretchedness. It is like the demand and supply of England and Scotland for Irish labour at harvest and other seasons. The overproduction of labour is encouraged by the casual demand. The social condition of the Irish people, as well as of the English, is brought to the limit of extreme wretchedness by the casual employment given at the lowest wages on which the

labourer can subsist. The vine culture has a similar effect in the wine growing countries, on population and employment.

To the English traveller, Touraine is a very interesting country. The changes in the dwellings, habits of the people, and face of the land and houses, have probably been few since it belonged to England, or rather since England belonged to it; for the continental possessions of Henry II. and his successors must have been of more value and importance than their English. Avignon, Amboise, Blois, Tours, all the towns and castles and monasteries belong to, and and are important historical points in English story; and they remain — the cottage, the country mansion, the roads, woods, gardens, the town dwellings, the streets, lanes, market-places—but little altered probaby in appearance, even where they have been renewed or rebuilt. The castles, the monasteries, the baronial *châteaux*, are dilapidated indeed, and in ruins; but the locality of each, and its features, its woods, orchards, vineyards, fish-ponds, avenues, roads are still where they were, and probably very much as they were, in the twelfth century. It is pleasing at any rate, as one travels through this country, to imagine so. The salamander, the device of the ducal family of Guienne and Poictou, whose heiress Eleanor, the divorced Queen of Louis VII., carried her extensive domains and mature charms into the arms of our young Henry II., is still seen upon the carved keystone of many an arched gateway and porch, in and about Tours, Saumur, and other towns on the Loire. The England of our days is but the canvas on which an old picture has been painted, and a new one

now covers almost every inch of the old work. But this country is an old picture still, notwithstanding the cleaning and obliterating by the artists of the revolution. Decayed indeed it is, and worm-eaten in parts; but original outlines and tints are still to be traced in some corners of the canvas, and are even lively in the habitations and household ways and accommodations of the people. In England, the changes in the possession and occupation of landed property, the elements of commercial wealth, activity, and spirit, and the acquired taste for objects not produced by ordinary agricultural industry, have, unless in very secluded districts, changed the habits and ways of living, obliterated the traces of ancient manners, and of the dwellings in town and country accommodated to those ancient modes of life. Here the alteration has been less. The original form of the dwellings, both in towns and in the country, has been continued in every repair, or restoration, custom being much more powerful than convenience among an agricultural population, and giving way very slowly, even to self-interest. The round or square tower, with loop-holes and a parapet, although now the tower contains only a staircase to the rooms of the attached dwelling, is still common in country houses. The same form of construction is seen in old houses in Scotland. In the towns on the Loire, and especially in their deserted streets and unfrequented suburbs, each house of any importance, although within the ancient town walls, is surrounded by its own high dead wall, and the carriage-gate opens into a long dead lane, to appearance uninhabited. But when the wide oaken coach-door in the wall is open, one gets a peep within, at a singular contrast to

the still life without between the high walls of the long lane in which the mansion stands. The court-yard within is gay with shrubs and flowers in large pots and tubs disposed in circles round a fountain or a carved stone basin; and a busy crowd of servants are at their household work in rear of the ancient mansion, a spacious structure hid behind the high walls inclosing it. Defence against sudden tumults in the city and concealment have apparently been the leading objects in the style of urban and suburban buildings, after the fortified tower-houses and castles of the earlier part of the middle ages in the country were abandoned, and the smaller nobility and landed proprietors came to dwell within the walled towns. The ancient dwelling of the peasant is constructed on different principles. Defence or concealment had not been considered where there was little to defend, and nothing of value to be destroyed, or taken away, but the standing crops and cattle. The old-fashioned cottage of a date prior to the revolution in France, is a spacious dwelling of low side-walls buried under a mountain of thatch, a huge roof, and very massive beams of oak or walnut-tree support an upper floor, of which the windows peep through the thick bed of straw or reed thatch in which they are sunk, and which appears to have been accumulating, layer above layer, for many generations. The ground-floor is divided into a large kitchen, which is the sitting-room of the family, and an inner apartment — the *but* and *ben* of the Scotch cottage dwellings of the same class of peasantry in the Lowlands in former times. In this richer country, the lodging of the people has been better than it ever was in Scotland, and better perhaps

than it ever was in England, for the labouring agricultural population, because the material for building — the rye-straw or reeds for roofing, the timber, the bricks or stone — had little commercial value in a country of bad or no roads for transport, and could only be applied to buildings on the spot. The resemblance, real or imaginary, which the traveller finds in the style of building, of husbandry, of domestic life and arrangements, between this part of France and England, and especially Scotland, as these things were in England and Scotland of old, is very interesting; but, perhaps, is more in fancy than reality, and arising from his previous knowledge that all this country was once part of the dominions of the English Crown, and was, for many generations, the resort of the nobles and gentry of Scotland, who took service in the body guards of the kings of France. A favourite article of furniture in these ancient dwellings of the French peasantry, equivalent to the eight-day clock as a general piece of household goods among our labouring country people, is a large shining walnut-tree press or wardrobe, reaching from the floor to the ceiling, with carved folding-doors hung upon long bright swivel-hinges of polished steel. In the best apartment of substantial peasants four of these wardrobes opposite to each other, so well polished by rubbing that they are quite ornamental, contain the stock of household linen and all such valuables. The ordinary sitting-room or hall in those old cottages, with its huge beams of oak or walnut-tree across the ceiling, its great fire of logs on the wide hearth, around which the females are busy with their household work; the distaff and spindle in the hands of the housemother,

and, if it be the village inn, the nice little table with the cleanest of table-linen, the lively buxom girl cooking, talking, and waiting on the guests, and the plenty to eat and drink, give the traveller who walks through the valley of the Loire, the impression that, in Chaucer's days, such may have been the hostelries in the pleasant land of Kent, at which the pilgrims to the shrine of St. Thomas in Canterbury put up. Our writers of historical romance might dig with advantage in the mines of picturesque mediæval lore of which these provinces of our Norman kings were the field, and of which traces are still visible in the manners, houses, and household ways of the people. Shakspeare and Sir Walter Scott have not exhausted this field of ancient romantic action, on which Scotch, as well as English, nobles have played their parts. The successors of Louis XI., Charles VII., and Louis XII. employed the Scotch officers of their body-guard in high commands, in their eventful campaigns in Lombardy and Calabria. The chronicle of Jean d'Auton, a contemporary of Louis XII., is full of picturesque characters, romantic incident, and deeds of chivalrous daring. The Duke of Albany, Berault Stewart seigneur of Aubigne, Robert Stewart, George Cockburn, and other familiar names of Scotch nobles and gentry, appear prominently in his account of those Italian campaigns. It may be regretted that Sir Walter Scott bestowed so much of the witchery of his genius upon border forays, and cattle-lifting lairds who, even in their own days, were scarcely to be reckoned among the chivalry of Scotland; and has neglected the exploits recorded in the French chronicles of those times, of the Douglases, Hamiltons,

Stewarts, Gordons, St. Clairs, who were dukes and princes in foreign lands (the Douglases were dukes of Touraine for several generations) before the border lairds he celebrates, or even those of his own clan, the Scotts, had, in the Scottish phrase, "a midden o' their ain for their cocks to craw on."

CHAP. VIII.

NOTES ON LAND AND POPULATION ON THE CONTINENT AND IN ENGLAND. — A RESERVE OF LAND IN ENGLAND TO MEET AN INCREASE OF POPULATION — NONE ON THE CONTINENT — PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES. — ON THE ABOLITION OF THE CORN-LAWS AS A CONSERVATIVE MEASURE FOR THE ENGLISH LANDED INTEREST. — RENTS IN KIND. — HIGH FARMING NOT JUDICIOUS WITH LOW PRICES AND MONEY RENTS. — ON MEASURES RESORTED TO IN FORMER TIMES FOR LIMITING THE INCREASE OF POPULATION TO THE AMOUNT OF EMPLOYMENT. — EVERY COUNTRY HAS ITS OWN POLITICAL ECONOMY SUITED TO ITS PHYSICAL CIRCUMSTANCES. — GUILDS OR INCORPORATIONS OF TRADES. — IS LABOUR A PROPERTY? — SOCIALISM IS A REVIVAL OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE GUILDS OF THE MIDDLE AGES — THE PRINCIPLE AND RESULTS THE SAME.

THE traveller who has an eye to the agricultural state of other countries compared to that of his own, cannot fail to observe that the land of the Continent is cultivated up to its capability of cultivation and of employing its inhabitants, much more closely than the land of England or Scotland. Whatever admits of being ploughed or dug is cultivated. The land may not be so productively and profitably cultivated as in England or Scotland, although this assumption of superior productiveness, on equal quality of soils, may be reasonably questioned, but it is more generally cultivated. All land that is at all capable of yielding a crop, should it only be a return of the seed and of the labourer's subsistence, is under culture. Woods and groves planted and preserved for ornament, parks, pleasure-grounds, lawns, shrubberies, old

grass fields of excellent soil producing only crops for luxury, such as pasture and hay for the finer breeds of horses, village greens, commons, lanes between fields, waste corners and patches outside of the fences or along the roads, hedges, ditches, banks, walls, all which together occupy perhaps as much land in England as the land under crops of grain, are very rare on the Continent. The plough and the spade work up to the door-steps of the most respectable country mansion, and to the gates of the most considerable cities. There are, no doubt, vast tracts of land on the Continent too sterile and thin of soil to admit of culture at all, even with the spade of a peasant-proprietor working on it for his own subsistence only; but whatever land affords a reasonable hope of reproducing the seed and food that must be expended on its culture, should it only be in a crop of rye (a grain that puts up with the poorest quality of soil), seems to be occupied and cultivated. The land of a quality that never could produce rent to a landlord and profit and a return of his capital to the tenant, is not, as in England and Scotland, lying waste and unused; but is cultivated for the mere return of the seed and subsistence of the labouring cultivator. This is the natural consequence of the small estate occupancy of the land, and of equal inheritance. The want of manufacturing employment has thrown all labour upon the land, and the land is consequently cultivated closely up to its capability of culture. The land with us is cultivated only up to its capability of profitable production to the landlord and tenant. Rent and profits set limits to cultivation in Britain; but positive sterility, the utter incapability of the soil to reproduce the seed and the subsistence of the labourer working

on it as proprietor for his own living, seem the only limit to cultivation abroad.

The forests and woods are extensive in many parts of the Continent; but these cannot be diminished or cleared away, and the land they occupy taken into cultivation. They are not, as with us, preserved for ornament or pleasure, but are as necessary as the corn-land. They produce the fuel for the population, both for domestic use and for metallic processes and manufacturing purposes. They produce the building timber, the materials of the vine-culture, the poles, staves, hoops, the materials of the tanner, and also the tar, potash, charcoal, and other products as necessary almost as grain crops to a civilised subsistence. We obtain these products in Britain from other sources than the surface of our own land—the fuel from below ground, the other products of the forest from over-sea countries. On the Continent the land has to produce every necessary of life—food, fuel, building timber, clothing materials, viz. flax, hemp, wool, hides, and other articles too bulky for land carriage to considerable distances. In England and Scotland the land has to produce food only. On the Continent, all the land that can be spared for cultivation, and is capable of producing the smallest returns of food, is fully occupied. There is no land in reserve to fall back upon. Much of the land of Great Britain that is capable of cultivation and of subsisting the labourer, although not of yielding rent and profit besides, is not cultivated, and is still in reserve for a future population. If these observations be correct—and every traveller can verify them from his own observation—they lead to curious and important conclusions.

1st. Any considerable increase of population on the Continent, or a succession of years of bad crops such as we read of in the chronicles of the middle ages—and the potato blight in 1846 and the following years reminds us that agricultural skill and improvement supposed to be very superior to the husbandry of the Continent, cannot avert such physical calamities—would plunge Germany and France into the deepest miseries of famine that history ever told of. The land in those countries is cultivated up to its capability of culture with its present agricultural means and social arrangements, and peopled up to all the employment that land can give which is cultivated to feed the labourers upon it. The land and the employment are fully occupied and filled up. Any increase of the population on the Continent can only subsist by the deterioration of the condition of the previously existing population, in proportion to that increase. Additional numbers can only exist by abstracting the means of subsistence from the present numbers. Home-trade and manufacturing for the home consumption must be diminished with the diminished means to buy and consume, in consequence of an additional number of population being thrown upon the same fund of employment and subsistence—that of labour on the land. The manufacturing for foreign markets can scarcely be talked of as a means of subsisting any important proportion of the population of Germany or France. The sea, or employment connected with shipping and sea-affairs, cannot be reckoned as a means of absorbing a surplus population in those countries. The sea is not an element in their existence, and never can be of importance as a means of employment and subsistence.

The land, and nothing but the land, can give support and employment to the great mass of the Continental population; and the land with its employment is already filled up. The commotions on the Continent in 1848—1849 may, I conceive, be mainly ascribed to the want of beneficial employment, in the new social state, for the mass of the population. The great majority of the inhabitants of France and Germany, raising their own food by their own labour, from their own land, and with each succeeding generation having more co-heirs to support from the produce of the same piece of land, must reduce their enjoyment of, and expenditure on, the most needful articles of a civilised life to the smallest scale. This is a retrograde, not an advancing, state of society. With our reserve of land for our agricultural population, and our great variety of employment for the population not engaged in agriculture, by our commercial and manufacturing capital and facilities, we are not so near, by many degrees, to a great social crisis as the Continental people. They are on the very verge of such a crisis. The land is filled up with inhabitants to its utmost capability of employing and supporting them. Improved husbandry might add to the quantity of food, but not to the quantity of employment from the land. Any other employment in manufacturing for the foreign market or for the yearly diminishing consumption of the home-market, is too insignificant to absorb any considerable proportion of the excess of population, however slowly that may be increasing. Famine, pestilence, wars abroad and tumults at home, are the only visible and natural means of sweeping away the surplus population run-

ning over the margin of any reproductive employment the Continent affords.

2nd. If these observations be correct, the abolition of the import duties on corn will prove to have been the most truly conservative measure which the legislature could have devised—one which will preserve, for some generations, at least, to our nobility, gentry, and landed interests, their domains, their estates, and their proper social influence. Their rents may be diminished; but their land will remain in its old shape and value, as it was enjoyed by their grandfathers before the last war. If there be truth in statistical reports and speculations, our population is increasing at the rate of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. yearly. We are adding about half a million, or, at the least, 420,000 people every year to our numbers. Allow that emigration could effectually take off 250,000 yearly—and it is at least doubtful if any emigration scheme, with the utmost aid government could justly give, and on the largest scale, could effect so much—still our population is augmenting at such a rate that, before the end of the present century, we shall have $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people to subsist more than we have now; that is, we shall have a population equal to that of all Ireland at present, in addition to our present numbers. We can subsist them, having almost all the employment of the world for our manufacturing industry, and all the corn of the world at command by our duty-free import of grain. But we could not subsist them in peace, and in acquiescence in the existing arrangement of the social body in Great Britain, if there was a tax on corn or other food. Would a nation sit still and starve while there was land around them capable of subsisting

them, and requiring only tillage, seed, and their own labour? It would not be the abolition of the corn-laws only that would then be demanded, but the division of the land of the country among the natives of the country. Communism, socialism, every wild theory of the agrarian rights of a people to a share in, and a subsistence from, their native soil would find partisans, arguments, and physical support from starving millions. The rights of hunger would supersede the rights of property. A frightful anarchy, a forcible occupation of the land, an agrarian war of millions against the small body of English landholders, would as certainly ensue as it did in France at the beginning of the revolution, when the people rose in their might and fury, drove the class of landed proprietors from their estates, and kept the land. The free importation of food has averted a similar social convulsion, and has deprived the agitator and hireling speech-maker of his plea of oppression from class interests and conventional laws in favour of the landowners. Six months later the same concession—the abolition of the corn-laws—would not have satisfied the million, and have carried the present social state of Great Britain, and the sacred security of property, through the storm which is now raging on the Continent, and rending every social institution to its roots. The landed interest of Great Britain made a narrow escape.

3rd. The land will be preserved to its rightful owners with us, but not the present rent of land. Rent is but a casualty, not a right, attached to land. It has no such sacred character as property. To support high rents by laws prohibiting the free importation of articles of prime necessity, is not a legislation

which would be submitted to in the present growing state of population and intelligence. Rents must clearly fall along with the price of the articles from which rent is produced. High farming, as it is called, that is, the attempt, by outlay of capital in expensive manures, draining, and other costly operations, to increase the quantity of produce from the land—to make up for the diminished value of that produce, seems a great delusion not founded on the natural principle which guides other branches of productive industry. When the markets for cotton, silk, woollen, or iron products are glutted, no remunerating prices to be got, and no reasonable prospect to be seen of any improvement in the value of these products at any future period, is that the time when manufacturers erect new and expensive machinery, and lay ont more and more capital for producing more and more of these articles for an already over-stocked market? High manufacturing requires high prices in proportion to the cost of production, either in reality, or in a near and reasonable prospect. High farming must have the same basis of high prices for its products, or it will prove a ruinous speculation to the tenant who engages in it with his own capital. But why cannot the British farmer, with his greater skill, capital, and economy of production, raise vastly greater crops, and undersell with advantage, at least in the British market, the foreign grain which has heavy charges of freight, warehouse rent, and labourage against it? The reason is this. The foreign grain brought to England from the continent of Europe, consists either of rents, quit-rents, or feu-duties, paid in kind by the actual farmer; or it is the surplus produce of the small estate of the peasant-proprietor.

In either case the subsistence of the family producing it is taken off, and also whatever is required to pay tithe, rates, and even taxes, which, as well as rent, are not paid in money, but in *naturalia*, in grain, and generally in certain proportions of the crops raised. The free surplus for exportation may be sold at any price in the English market, however low; because if it bring in nothing at all, the loss neither deranges the circumstances nor the ordinary subsistence and way of living of the farmers producing it. All their rents or payments are settled in grain, all their subsistence, clothing, and necessary expenditure are provided for, and the surplus is merely a quantity which must be sold because it is perishable, and which, if it sells well, may enable them to lay out a little more on the gratifications and tastes of a higher state of civilisation; but, if it sells badly, or for nothing at all, does not affect their means of reproduction, nor even their ordinary habits, enjoyments, way of living, or stock. They have not paid a price for their corn in rent, wages, manures, and other outlay of money, as the British farmer does before he brings his corn to market; and have therefore no *minimum* below which they cannot afford to sell it without ruin. The great landowner in Russia, Poland, or the north-east of Germany, is no doubt much better off, if he can sell his four or five thousand quarters of grain paid him as rents, quit-rents, or feu-duties, at a high price; but it has no cost-price to him; and to him, as well as to the small peasant-proprietor, the very lowest price the export merchant will give him for it is still a gain, and to earn a freight and a trifle more is still a gain to the export merchant. The British farmers can only put themselves on a footing with

the Continental farmers by recurring to payments of rent in kind; so many bushels of wheat, oats, barley, per acre, or a proportion, one-fifth, one-fourth, one-third, of the actual crops produced each year, and of the estimated value of the pasture land under live stock. Without some arrangement of this kind, high farming to undersell farmers who can afford to sell all they individually produce for market at any price, and who, with but a trifling surplus at stake individually, produce a mass, when joined together, overwhelming in our markets all competition, seems a very unsound speculation for our British farmers to engage in.

Emigration to our colonies is the great means proposed by the political economists of our day for draining off the superabundant population of the country. Nature seems working for the same end by cholera, famine, and its diseases. The traveller who observes these efforts of the social body at home to throw off, like a patient under a disease, by natural and artificial means, this repletion of numbers will make it the first subject of his inquiries abroad, What have been the peculiar measures resorted to, in different countries and ages, for limiting the increase of population to the amount of employment and subsistence? Husbandry, which is the main employment of the people in all countries of the Continent, carries within itself a kind of check upon over-population; especially where husbandry is carried on, as it is on the greater part of the Continent, by the owners of the land for their own subsistence, by their own labour on their own small estates. The employment and subsistence that the land can give are visible and confined mostly within the family.

There is no fluctuating demand for labour. The most imprudent and thoughtless in this social state can see exactly what they have to depend upon, and are obliged to pause before they enter improvidently into marriage. But there is necessarily in every country a great part of the population not possessed of land, and who live by supplying others with the various articles of their trades and handicrafts. How was this portion of the population prevented, under the old economy of the Continent, from overflowing? Why were not they in the same state of redundancy in proportion to subsistence as our own operatives in the same trades and handicrafts? This inquiry leads the traveller to the ultimate conclusion, that different principles of political economy are imposed upon different countries by the natural differences of their climate, geographical position, products, and other physical circumstances; and that every country has in reality a political economy of its own, suitable to those different physical circumstances, and to the interests, employments, character, spirit, wants, and habits of the inhabitants as formed by those circumstances.

It is evident that in countries in which, for half the year, out-door work is impeded and precarious from the weather, the moving power of water for driving machinery, and the supply of fuel for steam power cannot be depended upon, and even the transport of goods in canals, rivers, sea-harbours, and by land roads, is prevented for weeks or months in winter, by frost and snow, the same principles of political economy cannot be suitable and applicable to their social arrangements, as in countries in which, like Britain, rivers and roads, sea and land, are always

open and available for the transport of raw materials, provisions, goods, and labour, to any point where they are in demand, at any season, and where out-door work may be carried on almost every day in the year. Take the most simple case of two countries of about equal population, but of different climates, Scotland and Sweden or Denmark, and consider whether, owing to difference of climate alone, the same principles of social and political economy which work beneficially in the one country, could be applied to the other. In Scotland, the fruitful mother of speculations in political economy, and always eager to impose her bantlings on her neighbours, no evil arises in society from the most perfect freedom of trade and industrial action. Every man may apply his capital, industry, skill, time, and labour of hand or head, where and how he pleases, without restriction, without interference, or any right on the part of government to interfere; and the common man in England is scarcely so free as in Scotland, because he is there under some restriction in his removal to any new domicile, by the effect of poor rate and the law of settlement. Hence, it is concluded by our Scotch political economists, that capital and industry should in no case be interfered with in their free action by an enlightened government; that the most perfect freedom of trade, capital, labour, and industrial action should be the principle of all social arrangements in all countries. But, suppose Scotland were to change climates with Sweden, Denmark, Hanover, or any country in the north of Europe; suppose the Clyde, the Forth, the Tay, and all harbours on the coast inaccessible, or of very uncertain access, from ice during the winter months; all transport by land

of food, fuel, goods, and of raw materials for manufacturing industry, impeded every winter by snow, for several weeks or even months, would it then be a safe practical economy of the state, and one adapted to the well-being of the whole community, to allow such masses of population as those of Glasgow, Paisley, Dundee, and many other places, to be engendered and accumulated, without any interference of the state for their subsistence, employment, or dispersion? Would non-interference then be a sound and suitable principle in the political economy of the country? Would it be a wise social arrangement then, as it unquestionably is now, to allow every man, without inquiry, interference, or restriction on the part of government, to establish with his capital or credit any manufactory he pleased in any locality and on any scale, and to gather to one spot as many labourers or operatives as he pleased and thought fit to employ, during the six months in which he must work with double numbers if possible, in order to overtake the markets and throw stocks into them for the winter demand; and when the season arrives in which neither food, fuel, raw materials, nor goods can be transported by land or sea, and machinery must stop from want of water power, to shut up his factory and leave his operatives and labourers to starve, or to be subsisted by a poor-rate levied from his neighbours? In our climate the redundant population in one locality can, at any season, remove to another in which their labour may be in demand; and neither natural nor artificial impediments prevent them from moving, at any season, in search of employment. And, in our climate, labour in our principal branches of industry is in demand, and may be employed all

the year round, according to the state of markets and stocks. The living stream of labour is unimpeded by physical hinderances of frost and snow, and finds its level at all seasons in our climate. In countries to which nature has denied this advantage, and this is the case, more or less, in all the north and west of Europe, can the unrestrained freedom of trade and industry, and the non-interference of government with the application and use of capital in manufactures be as safely adopted? Is not climate an element in their social and political economy, which cannot be disregarded with safety to the general well-being, while, with us, it is one of no importance? It is probably this and other physical elements, unfelt in our social state and insular position, which force themselves into the social arrangements of the Continent, and have given rise to, and perhaps justify, the principle of the superintendence, intervention, and restrictions of the Continental governments on the free action of trade and capital. Their system of political economy, their intervention between capital and labour, is not consistent with our political economy and our great principle of the most perfect freedom in the employment of capital and labour; but, with them, and in the physical circumstances under which they live, it may be the best for the well-being of the great majority of the population.

The guilds, or incorporations of trades and of all labour of skill, and all capital employed in those incorporated branches of industry, prevail still on the Continent, and may possibly be maintained by a spirit of monopoly, and by a narrow-minded selfishness of the masters of the crafts and of the governments that support them in their privileges in opposition to all

sound principle; but it is also possible that they have had their origin in some real necessity of preventing the accumulation of a greater population in any one branch of industry than could be supported by it in the locality. The principle may have been sound and suitable in the ages and under the circumstances in which they arose. When the branches of industry were comparatively few, and the natural and conventional difficulties of transporting the products of industry from place to place were great, and no outlet existed for the surplus labour of one city or locality to any other, but all men were confined by natural, legal, or social hinderances to removal, within the walls, it may be said, of their native place, the restrictions on the numbers who could apply to, and exercise any trade or handicraft in the locality, the postponement, by long apprenticeships, journeymanships, and other regulations, of the period when they could take up the "freedom of their trade," as it was called, and settle as masters, and marry, and bring up families, may not have been so very reprehensible and contrary to sound principle. The restrictive system may have been most suitable to the social and economical circumstances of Europe, in the early ages; and may be so at this day in many countries. It seems to be a great and common mistake of political economists to consider the principles of their science applicable, like those of morality or equity, to all nations in all stages of civilisation, under all social circumstances, and all varieties of situation, climate, and products. Political economy wants that characteristic and test of true science—the universal applicability of its principles. Every country apparently has its own political and social economy, its own social arrange-

ments suited to its own idiosyncrasy, its own peculiar circumstances of soil, climate, products, geographical position, character, and spirit. Nations seem to be guided in their social arrangements, not by reasoning and formal doctrines of philosophy, but by a kind of instinct for the suitable, like that of bees, ants, and other animals living in communities, and form laws, habits, and institutions adapted to the physical circumstances in which they are placed. They first make what the philosopher, ages after, reasons upon, blames, or admires, and rarely perhaps improves. Before the political economist condemns, *ore rotundo*, the whole restrictive system of the Continent, with all its guilds, incorporations, privileges, licences, superintendence, and interference, he should consider that these social arrangements have existed on the continent of Europe, from the decline of the Roman empire in the fourth century until the present times, and have existed in Asia, in the castes and classification of employments belonging to each caste, more extensively and in more ancient stages of civilisation than in Europe. They have survived all revolutions, invasions, conquests, and changes of governments or dynasties. The machinery may have been altered in some countries of Europe, the power centralised and managed in the *bureaux* of public functionaries and departments of government, instead of being left in the hands of the incorporation council or masters of the crafts in each municipality; but still the principle and the power of restriction on the employment of industry and capital, in almost every branch of labour but husbandry, have remained. In constitutional Belgium, in republican France, leave and licence to exercise any handicraft, or any branch

of industry, must be applied for, and obtained, and the establishment or workshop, be it great or small, must be licensed, inspected, controlled, permitted, as well as in autocratic Austria or Denmark. This vitality of the principle, for fourteen centuries, in western Europe — its revival, after the fall of the Roman empire, in the ashes of the cities laid waste by the Gothic invaders — its diffusion, from time immemorial, over India — its full vigour, although in different hands, in the hands of government functionaries instead of local incorporations — over the whole continent of Europe, at the present day, when the demand for civil freedom, with which it is altogether incompatible, has risen to a temporary frenzy of the public mind, show that the principle is deeply rooted in some generally felt, but not generally understood, necessity or expediency, and in very powerful social and physical circumstances. — What is this necessity or expediency, or these social and physical circumstances, to which, in all ages and countries, civil liberty in the exercise of industry has been sacrificed?

This question involves one which has become all important in the present social state of Europe — one which is at the bottom of socialism, communism, and all the theories of social equality and agrarian rights, which are now beginning to convulse civilised society — Is labour property?

Labour is the mother of property. If any thing can be called a man's own, it is what the labour of his hands has produced out of the natural materials common to all human beings. The fish from the river, the deer from the forest, the fruit from the tree, become the property of the fisherman, the hunter, or

the man in a state of nature, only in virtue of his labour bestowed in acquiring it. The proprietory right is derived from labour. Law is instituted to protect the proprietory right; but it is labour, not law, that gives the right. But is labour itself a property entitled to legal protection as much as land, or goods, or any kind of property that labour produces? How has this question been dealt with in different ages, and in different stages of civilisation? The common accord of mankind, in admitting or refusing a property in labour, must go far in settling the question.

In the earliest civilised countries, India and China, labour appears to have been always a property vested in certain castes, or classes, alone entitled to exercise certain handicrafts; and, from the most remote times, the exclusive privilege of each caste or class appears to have been fenced in by religious observances and protection. In ancient Rome, incorporations of tradesmen living in distinct streets are mentioned; and in the European cities which grew up under the Roman empire, the rights of incorporations to their respective branches of industry were universally acknowledged. When manufactures were few and simple—and that is not many generations ago, even in England—and the clothing material of the people of Europe was almost entirely confined to the woollen and linen stuffs manufactured in every household, from the raw materials raised on every farm, and cotton or silk fabrics were scarcely used or known but by the highest class, the skilled labour of the few tradesmen required in that social state—the labour of the blacksmiths, joiners, weavers, tailors, tanners, shoemakers, and other such operatives in the useful arts—was

universally admitted to be a property. It was vested in trustees for the benefit of the individuals who had acquired a share in the property of each craft—that is, a right to exercise it. These trustees were the master-tradesmen, constituting the guild or incorporation for the protection of the property of the members in their own branch of industry. They could prevent all other workmen from producing or selling their kind of goods, publicly or privately, in their localities. The avowed social object of these privileged bodies, and of their restrictions on the free exercise of trades and handicrafts, was to prevent the over-multiplication of operatives in their several crafts, and the injury which would thereby accrue to the property of the already existing operatives in their own labour. In order to restrain the increase of numbers within the limits of the employment which would afford a fair subsistence to the workman, none were allowed to exercise any handicraft who had not served a long apprenticeship—unnecessarily long for merely learning the trade, then a long journeymanship, and even then waiting for a vacancy among the master-tradesmen of the craft. This system attempted, and not without effect, to keep down over-population, to establish a right of property in labour, and to secure a fair subsistence from labour to the operative class. The towns and cities being generally walled round, and the village and country populations being generally bound to the baronial proprietors in serfage, no manufacturing or smuggling by unfree unlicensed workmen could take place to any considerable extent; and the supply of the public with all the articles of handicrafts, or labour of skill, was confined to those who had acquired a property in that labour.

In the north of Europe this restrictive system remains, and gives a property in labour, to the present day. In England, owing to our open unwalled towns, our personal freedom of action and movement, and our water-communications along the coasts and on our rivers, no such restrictions in favour of proprietors of labour could at any period have been effective. We acknowledge the principle, however, that labour is property, in all cases in which it is possible to protect it by law. The astriction to mills, the rights of ferries, the rights of watermen, pilots, and of the medical, legal, and clerical professions to exclude from their branches of labour all, however well qualified, who have not acquired the privilege to exercise them, the right of the author to his book, of the musical composer to his tune, are acknowledgments that labour is a property which law will protect wherever it is possible to apply law to its protection; and that the fault is not in the right, but in the social arrangement which renders the law ineffective, if protection cannot be given in England to property in labour as fully as to property in land or goods. There is a power in society to which even law must give way—the power of public opinion of what is useful and expedient for the public interests. This opinion in Britain is opposed to the restrictive system of the Continent, and holds it to be inexpedient and unjust to the rest of the community that corporations should enjoy a monopoly of the supply of the most necessary products of industry, while the operative members of these corporate bodies are subject to no competition obliging them to work cheaply, expeditiously, and well. The perfect freedom of trade, industry, and labour, is he principle of all our political economy and social

arrangements. Restriction is but the exception with us, and freedom is but the exception on the Continent. This difference of principle in the social arrangement and political economy of the English and the Continental people has arisen from the different circumstances, physical and political, in which they live. It is little more than a century and a half since England cast herself loose from the same restrictive system as that of the Continent, and set out on a cruise of manufacturing and commercial enterprise, under a flag of free trade in all internal handicrafts and productive industry. This has succeeded well with England. Her geographical position on the globe, her climate, her minerals, her facilities of transport, her colonies, made that restrictive system unsuitable and inexpedient for her, which may be the best adapted for countries under circumstances naturally altogether different, and which cannot enter on the same career. There is not room in the world for two Great Britains. There is scarcely consumption enough for what the one is producing in every branch of manufacturing industry. It might not be a wise political economy for any Continental country to abandon the principle of the ancient restrictive system, that labour is property to be protected by law, and to break up entirely the guilds or incorporations of trades and handicrafts by which labour is protected from the influx of more workmen into any one locality or trade than can earn a subsistence in it, and by which the increase of population in general beyond the means of a civilised subsistence is, in some degree, checked. The old restrictive system, founded on the principle that labour is property, is entitled to the consideration of legislators and political economists,

not only as the most ancient and universal of all social arrangements, and common to Asia and Europe, but because it is identical in principle with the newest theories and speculations of the Faubourg St. Antoine, which in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, have raised a storm that shakes the world. The common principle, common to the old restrictive system of incorporations and to the new communist or socialist theories of 1848, is that labour is property entitled to such protection from law, that the operative labourer is secured in a subsistence from his property in his craft or trade, in sickness, or when out of work, as well as in health and in full employment. This was the end and object of the incorporations of trades, and the restrictions on the free exercise of industry in the middle ages; and it is the end and object of all the modern schemes of communism, socialism, co-operative labour for a common subsistence, and all the other visions of the working-classes on the Continent in 1848. The public mind has been going round like a blind horse in a mill, fancying that it has been advancing, while it has only been returning to the point in the circle from which it set out. It would be rash to conclude that the principle, and the institutions derived from it in the middle ages, and projected under other forms and names now, are unsound and unsuitable to the social state of the Continental people at the present day. We see them reclaimed with equal vehemence by parties at the opposite poles of political opinion, and on the same grounds, *viz.* that labour is property — reclaimed by the ultra-conservative party, which would adhere to the old restrictive policy and establishments derived from the feudal ages — and by that which adopts the wildest theories

of community of labour and rights to subsistence, without being aware apparently that, carried into effect, their theories would lead to the very institutions and spirit of the times, and to the very restrictions of those times on freedom, which they repudiate and denounce. The view of the identity of the principle and of the practical results ensuing from it, in the old incorporation-system of all branches of labour and the new schemes of co-operative labour for a common subsistence, and all other modifications of the idea that labour is a property, is confirmed by two remarkable facts. The one is, that the table of the German parliament at Frankfort, in the spring of 1849, was covered every day with petitions from Baden, Hesse, Würtemberg, Bavaria, the very seats of the great agitation for freedom and constitutional government and equal laws — and not for freedom of trade and the abolition of the remaining restrictions of the old corporation system, but for new restrictions on the freedom of trade, more stringent than the old; for taxes on all machinery that deprived the manual labourer of his employment; for the prohibition of all spinning and weaving but by hand; for duties on all clothing-material, or other products, not fabricated by simple hand-labour. These petitions prove that, while the upper educated classes in Germany are going along with the most enlightened political economists of the age, in their views of freedom in all industrial movement, the mass of the people are far behind. The one division is ripe for the most liberal and free social arrangements — ripe even to rottenness; and the other, the great mass, is still vegetating in the greenness of the middle ages. The other fact confirming these views is, that the Prussian government found

itself obliged to publish, on the 9th of February, 1849, a new Gewerbe-Gesetz, or law of handicrafts. At that date, a year nearly after the tumults and outbreaks of the class of operatives of every trade, under the banners of socialism in Berlin and all the principal cities of Germany, the Prussian government must have known what it was the people really desired, and was in no condition gratuitously to set at defiance the opinions or wishes of the working-classes on a subject of little or no direct political importance. This new Gewerbe-Gesetz rescinds a former law of 1845, which, with a few restrictions incident to the Landwehr service, gave entire freedom to the subjects to exercise any trade or handicraft in any place, and abolished the old trade-incorporations and their exclusive privileges. This new Gewerbe-Gesetz of 1849, re-establishing, in consequence, it is said in the preamble, of the numerous petitions and complaints from allquarters, the old system of masters, journeymen, and apprentices in every trade, united in corporations, with certain terms of servitude, examinations, proofs of skill before being admitted to the privilege of exercising their handicrafts; with regulations for the number of apprentices, journeymen, masters' shops for working, shops for sale of the articles, provision for sickness and old age, education, conduct, a common fund, a council of the members of the trade for the management of the common affairs and funds, and with power to make by-laws; in short, re-establishing the whole of the ancient labour-protection or labour-restrictive system of guilds or incorporations, but with many improvements. The improvements are that the class of journeymen, as well as the class of masters, are represented and have a voice in

the council of their craft, and have representatives equal in number to the masters, except one vote, which the class of masters are allowed to have more in the council. These new guilds, also, are under the control of the local civil functionaries, and not under the government of the masters only, and are extended over the whole country, and not confined to certain towns, and may be established, when thought necessary, by the local authorities. By the admission of journeymen they are more popularly constituted than the ancient guilds; and by a common fund for relief in cases of sickness, want of employment, accidents, or a temporary inability to pay the government poll-tax, or Gewerb-steuer, they approach, as nearly as possible, to what would practically be the shape and effect of any scheme of socialism, or working for common support. There is, in principle and practice, a community of labour and a united social working for a common fund, together with a beneficial property of the labourer in his own kind of labour protected by law, in these new guilds. They appear to have been framed to meet practically the requirements of the working-classes in Germany; and the schemes of the socialist *ouvrier* of the Faubourg St. Antoine, reduced to any practical shape of reality, could take no other form than this revival of the social arrangements of the middle ages. This revival is, in effect, a realisation of socialism, yet bringing society round to the institutions from which it started in the infancy of trades.

The principle and system would, no doubt, be unsuitable and absurd in Great Britain, with a social economy and condition modified by geographical position, natural products, climate, and other physical circumstances peculiar to our state; but they may not

be so in the Continental countries in which the land, and the employment it can give, are filled up to repletion, and employment in other branches of industry is, from the want of those physical circumstances, limited and naturally incapable of very great extension. Our political economy is exceptional, not normal for the rest of the civilised world; and we are led to the conclusion that political economy is not a science, of which the principles or truths are, like those of all other sciences, equally applicable to all societies, ages, and circumstances, but that every country has its own political economy.

CHAP. IX.

NOTES ON A MIDDLE CLASS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE. — ON THE REFORM OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN PRUSSIA. — FALL OF THE FEUDAL ARISTOCRACY. — ESTABLISHMENT OF FUNCTIONARISM AS THE THIRD ELEMENT IN THE SOCIAL BODY. — SPIRIT OF FUNCTIONARISM — DANGEROUS TO THE MONARCH AND THE PEOPLE. — CASE OF TORTURE INFLICTED IN HANOVER IN 1818. — FUNCTIONARISM IN NORWAY — IN THE UNITED STATES. — EFFECTS OF THE FUNCTIONARY SYSTEM ON INDUSTRY — ON EDUCATION.

One important question in the social state to which the whole Continent is tending, by the general diffusion of landed property through the social body, has still to be solved. It is this: —

What is to be the third element in this new social state of the European people? What is to be the intermediate social power between the governing and the governed, with influence over both, and preventing direct collisions between the two? Without such an intermediate element with social and moral influence, society can exist only in a state of anarchy, or of abject submission to an uncontrolled despotism. In the autocracy even of Russia and of Turkey, such a third element between the ruler and the ruled may be traced in the power or influence of a body of great nobility in the one state, and of the Mahometan priesthood in the other. What is to be this third element in the new social state of western Europe? Feudal aristocracy, or a class privileged by birth, extensive hereditary landed property, and

its social influences, bound together as a class by family ties and connections, and supported by popular prejudice, feeling, or *prestige*, to take a place between king and people, is extinct as a social power. Their power decayed with their property. The German nobility, impoverished by the expense of living suitably to their rank, and by living in the capitals or cities, at a distance from their estates, depend for subsistence on military or civil employment; and have lost, in this century, the influence and *prestige*, as well as the reality, of great landed possessions. The multiplication of poor nobles, from each son succeeding to the full title of his father, although without any property to maintain a suitable position to it in society, has reduced the whole body of Continental nobility, in public estimation, to a class of titled paupers, living on the public in useless offices. Aristocracy has merged into functionarism. It was the policy of Frederick the Great, after the Seven Years' War, in order to secure Silesia and his newly acquired dominions, to attach all the country nobility to his court, and make them dependent on civil or military function in his service. The young nobles were made cadets and officers; the old were at least nominal chamberlains or privy councillors. It was the old policy of France and Spain, to draw the nobility from their estates and country residences, where they were powerful and might be formidable, and to introduce them to the expenses, honours, and dependence of a court life. The revolution proved in France that this state policy had been carried too far. No intermediate body with social influence had been left in the country. Britany and La Vendee alone had a resident influential

class of nobles or country gentlemen, who were too poor to be attached to a splendid and expensive court, and there alone was found a class to support the throne. A similar body of landed proprietors spread over France, would have mediated as a third element between the throne and the people, and might have averted the horrors and anarchy of the revolution. Every succeeding movement in France proves the want of some third element, in the social body, between the executive power and the people. To this want must be ascribed the influence of Paris in all social action in France. The country has no third element, in its present social structure, between the governing and the governed. Paris alone is this third element for all France.

In Germany the same social results have been produced, in the present half century, but by a different agency—by the monarchs themselves, not by the people. They have attempted to create a third social power in their own interests.

The social state of Prussia, up to the conclusion of the peace of Tilsit in July 1807, was, like that of the rest of Germany, essentially feudal. The land was possessed by a class of nobles who held the peasants on their estates as serfs or leibeigen people, *adscripti glebæ*. The leibeigen peasant worked every day, or a certain number of days weekly, on the farm of the proprietor or his tacksman, and had a hut to live in and a spot of land to cultivate for his own subsistence, at spare hours. Another class of peasants, a little above the condition of Leibeigen, held a larger occupancy of land, for which they paid certain fixed services of carts, horses, and ploughs, to the proprietor or tacksman, and certain payments in *naturalia* of the crops

they raised. These payments being of old standing, and fixed by usage at the highest rate they could safely or profitably be raised to, were of the nature of quit-rents or feu-duties, although not in general established by writings or feu-charters. There were tacksmen or middlemen, who took on lease a district or barony, with its village and peasants, from the noble proprietor, paid him a money rent, and gathered in and turned to account the labour, services, payments in kind, and whatever they could make out of the peasantry leased to them, and farmed the *mains* or demesne lands of the estate, with the labour of the leibeigen and the services of the other peasants. The same system existed in the north of Scotland until a late period. The nobles alone, in the greater part of Germany, could purchase and hold land that was free from such servitudes. The peasant holdings or feued lands, held under services, often of a personal and even degrading kind, to the superior or feudal lord, were the only estates or landed properties that a capitalist, not born noble, could purchase or hold. The nobles, also, were exempt from all taxes, unless a personal tax, called a knight's horse, fixed at forty-eight thalers; they were exempt from military service in person, after the general establishment of standing armies instead of feudal services in the field. They had a monopoly of the military rank of officers in the army, and of all civil offices in every department of the state. On their estates they had hereditary jurisdiction; and could punish, imprison, and flog their peasants for neglect of feudal services. They had, however, to keep a justiciary, regularly bred at a university and duly examined, to sit in their barony courts, and his judicial proceedings

were revised and controlled by independent superior royal courts in each district. They had, moreover, to support their peasants in cases of destitution from accidents of flood or fire, of failure of crops, of cattle-murrain, and to provide them with medical assistance and medicines in cases of sickness. The principle of a poor rate was thus acknowledged, even in this social state, and the liability of the land to subsist the population engendered on it. The peasant could not remove from the estate to which he belonged, without leave from his lord. He might be punished as a deserter, and could be reclaimed from any place he might fly to, unless he had enlisted in the army or had escaped to one of the free cities, such as Hamburgh, Frankfort, Lubeck, in which, after a year and a day's residence, he was entitled to protection. This was no dormant right of the middle ages to the property of leibeigen peasants as slaves. In Holstein itself, the focus of the flame for German liberty, the peasants were only liberated from the thraldom of *leibeigenschaft* about the beginning of the present century. Patroles of dragoons were kept on all the roads to arrest leibeigen peasants attempting to desert from their baronial owners and to reach Hamburgh or Lubeck. This social state was obviously not suited to the nineteenth century, or to a struggle for the maintenance of feudal institutions against republican armies. The people had no interests to defend, no class even to whom they could be attached as their feudal lords and masters, if the spirit of the times had been favourable to such social ties of past ages; for the nobles, like the Irish landlords of our days, had ceased to live on their estates, were engaged in military, civil, or court employments, were ab-

sentees, in general needy, and their peasantry were in the hands of tacksmen (*Pachters*), raised originally from the station of peasants, and for whom the agricultural population could have no feelings of attachment, no *prestige*. It was necessary for the safety of the country to reconstruct society. The rights of property had to give place to the rights of the community, to security, and to a social condition worth defending. The first steps were taken towards a great social revolution, by an edict of the 9th October, 1807, in the ministry of Stein. By the fifth paragraph of this edict, every landholder or vassal, was entitled to let, sell, or dispose of his land, farm, mill, or any portion or pertinent of his land, without hinderance or demand of dues from his feudal lord or superior under whom he held it. By paragraph ten, no difference was allowed in future, between one subject and another in their duties to the state, in respect of birth, marriage, property, or office. By paragraph twelve, all personal services of the class of serfs or leibeigen vassals, were to cease at and from Martinmas, 1810.

It cannot be denied that in this edict, in itself so just and necessary for the very existence of society, there was involved a great infringement of the rights of property. However inconsistent with just principle, the rights of the feudal proprietor to the personal services of the peasants on his land were rights of more than a thousand years' standing, and recognised in every European country. Compensation was certainly due, and much more reasonably due to the Prussian nobles than to our West India planters on the abolition of slavery. There was an ambiguity as well as an injustice in this edict. Prædial services of labour,

and of horses, ploughs, waggons, paid in respect of land were often, like the payments of certain quantities of grain, butter, and other commodities, a kind of rent delivered in such services, as *naturalia*, and constituting the annual rent or feu-duty for which the land was originally let or feued to the peasant. These were not abolished by the edict. But the *adscriptus glebæ*, or leibeigen peasant, who had personal services to perform daily on the farm of his feudal lord, had necessarily a hut to live in, and a plot of land to cultivate for his own subsistence when not required to work for his master; and his service might be called and construed into leibeigen-work, or work in payment of rent for the tenement he occupied, as it suited the interests of his lord, or the tacksman to represent it. This ambiguity had already excited commotions among the peasantry in Upper Silesia, when the difficulty was settled by another edict in 1811. By this edict, all the other feudal services and burdens on land and people, not abolished by the former edict, were to cease in four years. This edict established a fixity of rent. It fixed the services or payments of labour, and the payments of produce in kind, due by the peasant in respect of his land, and fixed the redemption of these feudal burdens at a certain number of years' purchase, either by a payment of this value at once, or by instalments; or by the feuar, tenant, or occupier surrendering to his feudal landlord (the real proprietor of his farm) a proportion of the land he occupied, according to a valuation, in order to relieve the remainder of the land of all the feudal services and payments, formerly exigible as rent or feu-duty. This latter mode of adjustment appears to have been the most generally adopted, as

money was scarce among the class of peasants; instalments were uncertain amidst such violent and sudden changes; and the landowner got at least the remainder of his land laid together, so as to be available as large farms. Commissioners were appointed by the government for each province, to value, regulate, and adjust the interests and relations of the landowners and peasants on the spot, and the compensations or exchanges of land that were equitable; and it is surprising with what facility, or at least with what promptitude, this great revolution in the state of landed property, and in the social structure of Prussia was carried into effect. The settlement of such complicated interests, in a way accordant with the intention of government to raise the condition of the peasantry, and give them the ties and feelings of proprietors with a stake in the country to defend, at the expense of the class of feudal nobility, could not have been accomplished so speedily and quietly, without the will and fiat of the autocratic sovereign standing in place of all discussion of principle, and without the universal feeling that the existing feudal arrangements of the country, and the feudal privileges of the nobles, the sole proprietors of the land, were altogether incompatible with the safety and defence of the country, and with the spirit of society in the nineteenth century. Yet the measure was a grave infringement of the rights of property. There was no option, and in reality no compensation to the landed proprietor for this abolition of rights, which, whether in accordance with abstract principle, natural justice, and public good, or not, were vested rights of a thousand years' standing, and founded on the same feudal principle and constitution of society

as the government that abolished them stood on itself. The right of a state, representing the community, to reconstruct the social body, and re-distribute the land of a country in the way most conducive to the well-being, real or supposed, of the mass of the population, without regard to the proprietory claims of a small class of landholders has, no doubt, been often discussed and maintained in the speculative themes of schoolboys and debating societies, but never probably without the admission of full compensation being due to those despoiled for the general good, of hereditary property held under sanction of laws common, for a long succession of ages, to all Europe. None but the most frantic reformers, socialists, or red republicans, deny the right to compensation for the most necessary violations of property. It is therefore a singular meeting of extremes, and one of the most remarkable coincidences in our remarkable times, that the most autocratic of sovereigns, the late king of Prussia, carried on with a high hand in his dominions, between the years 1807 and 1811, a greater and more radical revolution than the most visionary reformer ever dreamt of, and established in Prussia the same distribution of property, and the same social state, that the most frantic of democrats established in France at the beginning of the revolution, adopting at home the very arrangement and construction of society which he had attempted during years of warfare and bloodshed, and at the imminent peril of his crown, to put down abroad. The French writer was truly a prophet who said, "the tricoloured flag was destined to make the tour of the world." The social structure and economy of the two countries, Prussia and France, although framed by such different hands, with such

different views, and under such different circumstances, are now the same, and as if cast in the same mould. In both countries we see a people of small peasant-proprietors holding the land, no class—scarcely an individual among them — above the cares of daily provision for subsistence and superior to others in the social influence of superior industry, intelligence, extensive social action and usefulness, or in property, which is the exponent of these social influences; a numerous body of civil functionaries living upon this people for the performance of duties partly useless, partly such as a people imbued with public spirit would discharge for themselves in each locality, and extending over them, in their private affairs and movements, a superintendence and interference which a people with any sense for liberty and personal rights would not tolerate — a military organisation of the whole population — a government upheld by an army, and trembling before a population equal to the army in military spirit, experience, and the use of arms. Is not this the present social condition both of France and Prussia — the very same results from the reforms of democracy in the one country, and of autocracy in the other? This has not been a happy experiment on the reconstruction of society in either country; and the reason seems to be that, in both the principle which is the basis of all civilised society, *viz.* the sacredness of property, and of the social influence belonging to property as the exponent of industry, intelligence, and useful action, has been violated — in France by the blind fury of democracy at the revolution, in Prussia by the blind policy or caprice of despotism. In France the experiment, if not more happy as yet in its social results, has been

more consistently carried out. The law, by the Code Napoleon, is at least in accordance with the new state of property. In Prussia, although the basis of feudality is cut away by the general distribution of property in land, and the utter decay of the social influence of the class of nobles, the feudal procedure, courts of justice, and principles of law are still maintained, and even forced upon provinces which had enjoyed trial by jury, open courts, and the simpler judicial procedure of the Code Napoleon, before their annexation to Prussia. In both countries, by the general distribution of the land through the social body, society has been brought back to its two primary elements — a governing power above, and a governed mass below. No intermediate class to support the governing power in its necessary rights, and to support the governed mass in their just requirements of freedom and constitutional government, has yet arisen to ward off, by its social influence, the recourse to physical force by the people, and to military despotism by their rulers.

The Continental sovereigns, after the peace, and settlement of Europe in 1816, appear to have felt, as by a common instinct, that their kingly power was in a false position in the new social state which the general diffusion of landed property had produced. It wanted a barrier and a support. They all attempted, as by common accord, to create a third element in the social structure, and to replace the class of nobles possessing large landed property with more or less of the social influence belonging to such property, by substituting functionarism for aristocracy as a support of their thrones. A numerous body, a civil army of functionaries organised, and in subor-

dination to chiefs of various departments, was quartered, like a military body, all over the country, although not required for any useful pupose or public benefit. Every imaginable and real social interest, religion, education, law, police, every branch of public or private business, personal liberty to move from place to place, even from parish to parish within the same jurisdiction, liberty to engage in any branch of trade or industry on a small or large scale, all the objects, in short, in which body, mind, and capital can be employed in civilised society, were gradually laid hold of for the employment and support of functionaries, were centralised in *bureaux*, were superintended, licensed, inspected, reported upon, and interfered with by a host of officials scattered over the land and maintained at the public expense, yet with no conceivable utility in their duties. They are not, however, gentlemen at large, enjoying salary without service. They are under a semi-military discipline. In Bavaria, for instance, the superior civil functionary can place his inferior functionary under house-arrest, for neglect of duty, or other offence against civil functionary discipline. In Würtemberg, the functionary cannot marry without leave from his superior. Voltaire says, somewhere, that, "the art of government is to make two-thirds of a nation pay all it possibly can pay for the benefit of the other third." This is realised in Germany by the functionary system. The functionaries are not there for the benefit of the people, but the people for the benefit of the functionaries. All this machinery of functionarism, with its numerous ranks and gradations in every district, filled with a staff of clerks and expectants in every department looking for employment, appointments,

or promotions, was intended to be a new support of the throne in the new social state of the Continent; a third class, in close connection with the people by their various official duties of interference in all public or private affairs, yet attached by their interests to the kingly power. The *Beamptenstand*, or functionary class, was to be the equivalent to the class of nobility, gentry, capitalists, and men of larger landed property, than the peasant-proprietors, and was to make up in numbers for the want of individual weight and influence. In France, at the expulsion of Louis Philippe, the civil functionaries were stated to amount to 807,030 individuals. This civil army was more than double of the military. In Germany, this class is necessarily more numerous in proportion to the population, the landwehr system imposing many more restrictions than the conscription on the free action of the people, and requiring more officials to manage it, and the semi-feudal jurisdictions and forms of law requiring much more writing and intricate forms of procedure before the courts, than the Code Napoleon.

In every state, in modern times, functionaries are necessarily numerous. The collection of the public revenue alone requires a little army of them. But we would be rather surprised to hear our own *Beamptenstand*, our collectors, comptrollers, assessors, tidewaiters, gaugers, considered as a high and influential class in our social body, or considered as a class at all in any way distinct from the respectable middle class in which they are merged. In Prussia it is different. The kingdom is made up of provinces torn from other powers; and to reduce the local influence of the nobles or great landholders, it

was always the principle of the state to bring them into the civil or military service, to merge them into the functionary class. After the arbitrary division of Europe by the Congress of Vienna in 1816, the necessity of proceeding on the same principle was thought to be still more urgent. The people were torn from their ancient hereditary rulers, ancient jurisdictions, laws, and prejudices; and men who had been born Saxon, Swedish, French subjects, were driven like sheep into the Prussian, Bavarian, or Baden folds, without more regard to their interests, feelings, attachments, manners, or prior allegiance, than if they had been a flock of sheep. The reaction of this demoralising partition of Germany by the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, has come on now, in 1848. The German sovereigns can scarcely accuse their subjects of a breach of hereditary allegiance, where they themselves became sovereigns by a compulsory breach of a prior allegiance. The heterogeneous masses of population, composing the subjects of the sovereigns of Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden, could only be held together, in the semblance of nations, by functionary government. These masses are not nationalised, they are only functionalised. Their social and political affairs are managed from common centres, the *bureaux* at Berlin, Munich, Stuttgard, in a common functionary system; but the people so united on the paper of the central *bureaux*, are not united by any common interests or feelings, or any intercourse with each other. In the kingdom of Prussia, for instance, the masses of population on the Rhine, have no common interests, feelings, ties, no mutual communications or intercourse with the masses on the shores of the Baltic, or on the Vistula,

binding them together into one nation. It is the voice of the paid functionary through the newspaper press, or of a pensioned band of professors or literary men expectants on office, that is heard in the adulation of the Prussian government and its measures, and in the assurances, unnecessary if true, of the loyalty and enthusiasm of the Prussian nation. In Brandenburg, the old hereditary dominion of the Hohenzollern dynasty, the feeling of loyalty to the family may be sufficiently strong. But what has Pomerania to be loyal for—a country torn from the milder and less-meddling government of Sweden, in the present generation of the older inhabitants? What have the three millions of people in Posen and Prussian Poland, the million and a half in the Rhenish provinces, the million and a half in Westphalia, and the provinces torn from Saxony and annexed, in 1816, to the Prussian crown, what have these populations to be loyal for? Is it for being torn from their ancient hereditary laws, institutions, and governments? Is it in Posen, Westphalia, and in the Rhenish provinces, for closed courts of justice, semi-feudal law, and a tortuous administration of it, instead of trial by jury, open and cheap courts of justice, and the Code Napoleon? What has the Protestant population of Prussia to be loyal for? Is it for the abolition, by a royal edict, of the very name of Protestant applied to religion? Is it for the persecution of the Silesian Lutherans for refusing to accept a new liturgy of the king's own composition, instead of Luther's? Is it for enforcing the acceptance of this new church service and liturgy on Calvinists and Lutherans, by penalties, deprivation of office, quartering of troops, and imprisonment?

Is it for the refusal to fulfil the solemn promises given to the people in 1813, of a representative government? Is it for a breach of the word and faith of a monarch by the late king of Prussia, that the Prussian subjects are brimful and running over with affection, enthusiasm, and loyalty? The European public are deceived by a press open only to praise and adulation; and by functionaries and Berlin professors, men of high name, no doubt, in literature, who are paying for their pudding in praise. The Prussian subjects are not a nation, but a lot of fourteen millions of people torn from other nationalities, in 1816, and held together in the shape of a nation, only by functionary government, civil and military duties, and discipline. They are the most superintended, the most interfered with, the most destitute of civil freedom and political rights, in a word, the most enslaved people in western Europe, and the most educated. It would be an imputation on the German character, and a proof that the people of Germany are incapable of any nationality or freedom at all, if it were true that the great mass of Prussian subjects who were born and bred under, or accustomed to consider as their right the Code Napoleon, trial by jury, open courts of justice, and freedom of religion, had become, in a single generation, nationalised and amalgamated with the population of old Prussia, and enthusiastic in loyalty to an autocratic sovereign who has broken his promises of a constitution, and to a government in which law, civil and criminal, is derived from and administered as we see in the trial of Waldeck, in November, 1849, in the spirit of the middle ages, and is far behind the law and administration they had enjoyed before their an-

nexation to the Prussian crown. In France, although the functionary system was not necessary, as in Prussia, to give a semblance of nationality to unconnected masses of population, for the French people have long been nationalised, it was considered necessary as a means of giving stability to the power of each succeeding ruler, from Napoleon the emperor, to his nephew the president. The social state which had sprung up from the ashes of the revolution, afforded no other element between the governing and the governed, but what government created. Functionarism was intended to be a barrier in France against the physical force of the people—a middle class with social influence exerted always in favour of the ruling power. The general movement in 1848, in every country governed by this bureaucracy, for obtaining civil freedom, liberal constitutions, and emancipation from the functionary system, proves that this is not the true intermediate element required in the new social state into which Europe has entered. In countries which had constitutional governments or representative assemblies, as Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse, the movement in 1848, 1849, was not less violent than in the most autocratically governed states. The restrictions on civil liberty, the functionary system created for and upheld by those oppressive and useless restrictions on freedom of action, on private life, on civil liberty, were a grievance which political liberty, the forms of a free constitution, had not redressed and never would redress, as the representatives of the people in those mock-parliaments were either functionaries themselves or under functionary influences. Functionarism gave way under the feet of the sovereigns who

had built it up, and trusted to it as the support of their thrones. It betrayed Bonaparte. It deserted Louis Philippe. The functionaries had no influence with the people. They are justly considered as dependent pensioners, living upon the public for the performance of functions, only created for their support, and in themselves useless, oppressive, and burdensome. The Continental man now visits other countries at a small expense of money or time, and finds people there managing for themselves those affairs and interests which employ a crowd of paid functionaries at home, and sees them free individually to move about, to settle where they please, to engage in what they please, in trade, manufactures, or other industrial pursuits, without restrictions, superintendence, leave or licence from any official of government. This civil liberty will be one of the great moral effects produced in the social state of Europe by steam power, and will be its greatest triumph. The lesson received abroad by the German and French travellers, will not be lost at home, and the reduction of functionarism to its proper limits of the collection of taxes, the administration of law, and the other legitimate objects of government, instead of the present system of meddling with all social or private action which can be centralised, superintended, and turned into employment for functionaries, will be the first and most important result of the movement of 1848, on the social state of Germany. The vexatious interference and intrusion of functionarism into the domestic affairs and arrangements of individuals, by the landwehr system, the educational system, the passport system, the class taxes, the licences to trade or exercise any handicraft, have reduced civil liberty

or the freedom of the individual to act on his own judgment in his own affairs, to as low a pitch as in the middle ages. The movement in Germany in 1848 was, as far as the people were concerned in it, to get rid of this oppression. A constitutional government or parliament, in the smaller German states, had not the power to shake it off; but an united central parliament for all Germany would be beyond and above the influences which, in a small state, perpetuate abuses once established. This was the main benefit to be expected from an united German government.

In the dreary seven years of German history, from the peace of Tilsit in 1807 to the expulsion of the French in 1814, the functionary class had not proved themselves so faithful to the governments by which they were appointed, as to deserve the extension and importance which the Continental sovereigns gave them after the settlement of Europe in 1816. In Westphalia, in Prussia itself, and in all the countries of Germany occupied by the French, the established functionaries in every district and department of public affairs became the willing instruments, in the hands of the French, of the most grievous exactions, contributions, and oppressions which, without their assistance and organisation, could not have been carried into effect by the French commissaries. The chiefs only of a few departments had to be removed, or rather had to report to and act under a French functionary; but almost all the effective machinery of functionarism remained, every man sticking to office, and quite as effective for the enemy as he had been for the sovereign of the country. No feeling of honour, obligation, or duty to the former sovereign,

no regard for previous oaths of allegiance, appear to have stood in the way of the German functionaries in continuing to hold their offices and to serve under King Jerome, or whoever was appointed by France to the emolument that could be squeezed out of the conquered German territories. This *Beamptenstand* or functionary class wants the moral dignity of character which has influence with a people in times of social trouble, and are a dangerous machinery, not only ready to inflict misgovernment and oppression on the country, but ready to support any hero of the hour against the state that appointed them, who has the good fortune to get hold of the reins of government at the point in which they are centralised. It is an element in the social state as dangerous to the sovereign as it is oppressive and burdensome to the people. Louis Philippe was deposed and set aside as easily and quietly as any *chef de bureau.* He was but a *chef de bureau* to his people, who knew only functionaries of some *bureau* or other, as the leading class; and to his functionaries, who knew no other motive of action than promotion in their several departments by subserviency to their immediate chiefs. Yet functionarism is the only element which has arisen in the new social state of Europe, as the intermediate power between the governing and the governed. It is evidently not the true element. In a monarchical government it serves neither king nor people, and it is dangerous to the liberty of the more democratical states.

The feudal system, or that social state into which feudalism had settled, was never entirely eradicated in Germany, unless where the Code Napoleon was introduced by the French, as in Westphalia, the pro-

vinces of the Rhine, and in Posen. After the peace of 1815, the almost obsolete power of interference with the personal freedom, industry, time, and labour of the individual, was revived, and transferred from the feudal lord, in whom it was but a dormant right under the French *régime*, to the state and its functionaries. The landwehr service takes more of the common man's time and labour from him than the feudal services he had to pay before to his landowner for his house and land, and his thraldom under the local functionaries, civil and military, is now as complete and oppressive as in the middle ages under the feudal baron. The new functionary system does not even remove the abuses of the old feudal system, but amalgamates itself with it and throws the burden of both on the people. The administration of civil and criminal law, the courts of justice, the hereditary jurisdictions of nobles on their estates, with courts, prisons, forest laws, and all the dregs of feudalism, are still allowed (or were so, until the movements of 1848 against the present social state of Germany) to poison the existence of the common man. An instance of the state of the law in the most enlightened part of Germany, will best illustrate the abject state of the people after the settlement of Europe by the Vienna congress, the tyranny and spirit of the functionary class placed over them, and the utter indifference of the petty German sovereigns to any reform or improvement of the old feudal practices in the administration of law revived by the public functionaries. In the year 1818, in the city of Hanover, under the reign of our own gracious sovereign George IV., in the night-time, between the 25th and

26th of March—it is right to give date and circumstance of so atrocious a case—a person of the name of Södeke was, by order of the judicial functionaries, after eighteen months' imprisonment, put to the torture to make him confess his guilt; and after his hands had become dreadfully swollen by the application of the thumb-screw, he was at last, by the renewed application of the instruments of torture, forced to confess his guilt. And what was his guilt? Was it treason, parricide, or some unheard of combination of crimes of the deepest dye? It was stealing a cow! This fact occurred but thirty years ago. It is within possibility that the same lawyers and functionaries who ordered, sanctioned, and witnessed the torturing of this poor wretch in the prison at Hanover, may now be sitting in the National Assembly at Frankfort or Erfurt, settling the rights and privileges of the free and equal German people. The public functionaries in Hanover are as highly educated and as humane as those of any other part of Germany. The individuals are not so much to blame as the system of functionarism, the want of progress in humane civilised feeling with the progress of the age, the want of responsibility to public opinion, the want of that moral sense which would lead the civil functionary with us to resign his office, rather than order, sanction, or witness the infliction of torture. The German people have nothing to expect from parliaments of functionaries bred in a school of military obedience, superintendence, meddling and managing in all private action, and in which personal advancement in office is the object of all, and subservience to the will and order of the ruling power, whatever that may be, is the means. Neither the sovereign nor

the people can be served by this bureaucracy, which is, in reality, master of both.

Two countries in the social arrangement towards which the Continent is tending, Norway and the United States of America, have, by the instinctive wisdom which guides nations when public judgment is in free action, seen and endeavoured to provide against the danger even of that amount of functionarism which is indispensably necessary in every country for conducting the affairs of government, and have aimed at the same end by opposite means. In Norway, which enjoys the most liberal, or rather democratic of political constitutions in Europe, the functionary once appointed has, by the ground-law of the constitution, a property, a vested right in his office. He cannot be dismissed by the executive power or its departments, without a trial and sentence by an independent branch of the state. He cannot be removed from one locality to another, without his own consent. His income cannot be diminished, nor his duties increased, without adequate compensation. He cannot be passed over in his turn for promotion. For all these rights he has a court to appeal to, which is entirely independent of the executive, the legislative, or the department in which he serves. In every department of the state all vacancies must be published in the gazette; lists of the candidates for appointments or for promotion must be kept; and the list, with the reasons for the preference given to the successful candidate, must be laid before a committee of their parliament, who scrutinise every case and reverse any injustice done in the promotion, cancel the unjust appointment, and fine severely the head of the department who committed

or allowed it. The tendency of functionarism to become a machinery in the hands of the executive branch of the state for undue influence or misgovernment, is checked by thus giving the functionary an independent personal estate in his office, and a right, independent of the favour of his superiors, to his promotion if he deserve it. The system works well in the limited circle of Norwegian affairs. We see functionaries speaking, voting, writing, and taking a leading place, in opposition to, or in favour of, measures of government as freely as other people; and, during the reign of Bernadotte, which was a perpetual struggle to undermine or overturn the constitution and establish autocracy, this independent body of functionaries was the third element between the kingly power and the population of peasant-proprietors, keeping both in their right constitutional places. In the United States of America, the danger of functionarism to a free state is counteracted in a way directly the reverse. To avoid permanent, or even long occupation of office, is the principle of their social policy. The functionary, from the president down to the village postmaster or custom-house officer, is removed every four years, and returns with those who appointed him into private life. This is so much the rule in their social arrangements, that even the judges on the bench do not hold their seats for life. M. de Tocqueville, and other philosophical writers who have treated of the social state of America, deplore this perpetual change of public functionaries even in offices in which long experience, training, and study are necessary, or considered in Europe to be so, for the proper discharge of the duties. But those great writers, bred under functionarism, forget

that this very system of changing the whole body of functionaries, even in the lowest offices with each change of a president, is practically one of the main safeguards of the American constitution. If a functionary class, similar to that of France or Prussia, were allowed to take root, grow up, and become permanent in America, the power which appointed them, and distributes these places and promotions, the president, or highest state power, who has about 60,000 offices in his gift, would become permanent also, having such a fixed permanent machinery, and its valuable patronage and influence in every locality, to uphold it at every election,—the republic would become an oligarchy of a few heads of departments, and a chief supported by a numerous body of permanent functionaries — a government like that of France, or Prussia, a bureaucracy for the benefit of the governing, not of the governed. They forget, too, the important fact, that in all the affairs of the United States, men of ordinary education and common sense have shown themselves capable of discharging very ably all those public functions and official affairs, which in Europe are supposed, from their being wrapped up in forms and etiquette of procedure, to require long training in the *bureaux* of ministers, very great experience, and much previous study. The Americans have proved, in the cabinet and in the field, that all this false importance claimed by men of office and routine, vanishes, in the management of public affairs, before sound common sense and energy. In their foreign diplomacy, American ministers fresh from the counting-house, the printing-office, or the farm, conduct important negotiations at least as successfully as the regularly trained am-

bassadors of the old European countries. American statesmen and generals have proved themselves equal to those bred in courts and on parades, in *bureaux* and at grand reviews. Functionaries create the science by which they live, out of their own formalities of office and routine of action; but this science vanishes in the grasp of men of vigorous common sense applied without delicacy or ceremony to the business in hand.

The direct effects of functionarism have undoubtedly reduced the people of Germany to a state of pupilage. Independent action is so little thought of that it may be doubted whether, if they had a parliament, they could use it and produce any practical measure of reform in their social state, without functionary guidance. They are not accustomed to act for themselves. The indirect effects of the system have deteriorated the character and retarded the industry and prosperity of the German people, as much as its direct working on the social body. The numbers of small functionaries provided for at the public expense, in the departments of the law, the finance, the Church, the educational affairs, the police, the landwehr establishment, the passport establishment, and all the other branches of public business springing from the principle of the state's interference in all social and individual action, keep almost the whole youth of the country in a state of dependence upon favour for an appointment in some public office, instead of depending upon industry and exertion in the useful arts or occupations. Every second or third young man in the middle class is an expectant of office. The father of a family in any thriving line of business or trade, whose sons might with advantage

be tradesmen, manufacturers, or merchants, with the little capital he could give them, and who in the same social position with us, would undoubtedly put out his sons in some branch of industry, sends them, almost invariably, to study at a university in order to be qualified for office. After the bread-studies, as they are called in Germany, are gone through, the young man hangs on, often for many years, an idle expectant on office, and may possibly get some employment at last in a government *bureau*, at a salary which can only help to maintain him, along with the little allowance the father can afford him. A great proportion of the small capitals gathered by tradesmen, shopkeepers, farmers, functionaries, clergymen, and others in the middle station of life, is thus expended without being utilised. The same capitals with us would be applied to extending the business in which they were acquired, or in placing the sons in some similar business. Such small beginnings of saved capital are with us the foundations of almost all the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of eminent individuals, and of the acuteness of mind and the judgment which produce that prosperity. Here, in Germany, these beginnings of capital are applied to supporting the sons at a university, half-students, half-vagrants, for many idle years; and then in supporting them in some inferior office in a state department, until, by seniority, favour, or merit, a higher step is attained with a salary on which the functionary can subsist. The prospect of office in the vast functionary system turns away the industry and capital that might be employed with more advantage to the country and the individual in the humbler paths of trade. One advantage, however, if it be an advan-

tage, springs from this course of life of the middle class. To hold any function in civil affairs an education at a university is required. A literary culture and many accomplishments and attainments in science and the fine arts are diffused by this connection between university education and civil function, and are found in lower classes of society than with us. The youths who would, in England, be plying the hammer and the file, and considering themselves in their proper vocation if they are earning fair wages by their industry, are philosophers, politicians, and poets, in Germany, cultivating their taste in the fine arts, or their knowledge in various sciences, while waiting for some office which affords them a less income and less independence than the earnings of the industrious English mechanic. It is curious to observe this difference of education between English and German people in the same rank of life, and the different results in each country. The young men of the middle class with us are, from their sixteenth year, in the counting-house, warehouse, or workshop, giving their minds entirely to their trade or business, thinking of nothing else, and strangers to philosophy, literature, or refined accomplishments. Yet their intellectual culture is not dormant; for they are acquiring experience, judgment, and the habits of acting with, and acting upon, their fellowmen. They come out of this training in the school of real business, into the world of social and political affairs, with minds well exercised and capable of wielding very often as statesmen or members of parliament, the weightiest national interests with good sense and practical judgment. Our Humes, Cobdens, Brights, have had no other schooling. The Conti-

nental youth of the same class go, about the same age, to the university, and come out of their training philosophers, theorists, dreamers, and attach themselves to some department of public business, in which they are formed into state functionaries incapable of thinking or acting out of the conventional forms and routine of the offices they are bred in. The practical education in the affairs of real life is more adapted to our social state, and seems to produce more distinguished public men, than the more literary and speculative education of the youth of the Continent. In France and Germany, the constituent assemblies at Paris and Frankfort, composed of philosophers, men of high literary reputation for profound learning and talent, made a very sorry figure in 1848, 1849. They wasted eighteen or twenty months listening to spoken pamphlets of their learned members, upon abstract principles of social existence, and vague generalities of what ought to be in a perfect constitution. In Germany, this speculative spirit has ruined the cause it espoused. The public mind grew weary of the endless discussion of theories, and the waiting for a practical constitution. The German mind is generally in an ague, in a hot or a cold fit. The hot fit for German unity, a central constitutional German power and a parliament, has passed away like the hot fit a few years ago for Ronge's German catholic Church, and has been succeeded by a cold fit, in which all that agitated the public mind but a few weeks before is regarded as a feverish dream. The want of men educated in the world, and formed in the school of real affairs, and the preponderance of men of speculative philosophic minds, professors, scholars, men of the highest talents and attainments in literature and

science, but without practice, judgment, or decision in the management even of the most ordinary business of society, will account for the trifling and mismanagement of the Frankfort constituent assembly, and for the characteristic tendency of the German people to theory without action. They lay an egg, and cackle around it as a glorious production, and want the capability of hatching it.

The functionarism of education, the centralisation under a department of government of all educational establishments, from the University down to the A, B, C school, the appointment of all teachers, masters, and professors by the state, and the requirement that all who teach shall have gone through a certain course of education and examination, and the prohibition of all teaching or school-keeping by any other than those licensed, approved of, educational functionaries, has turned out to be a branch of the functionary system, dangerous to the state, and injurious to the character of the people. It has enabled a conclave of professors at the German universities to form the public mind on their own views and theories in politics, philosophy, and legislation, to indoctrinate all the youth of Germany, all who are to be the public functionaries, from the highest to the lowest, all the clergy, all the lawyers, all the schoolmasters and teachers, all of whom must pass through their hands as students, to be qualified for office, with the same wild theories and speculations in religion, philosophy, and political and social science. The youth come out of this preparatory formation of mind for real life, imbued with the very same opinions on all subjects, slaves of the lamp of one *génie*, in philosophy, in religious, political, or literary opinion, and absorbed in exertions to un-

derstand the mysticism of other minds. This system has given a dreaming habit of mind to a great proportion of the German youth; an aptitude to be led by theory, fancy, and speculation, rather than by judgment. It is imminently dangerous to the state, because public opinion is not formed by the public, but by a *junta* of professors, who have the formation of the public mind. The state has lost hold of the threads by which it was to guide the public through an educational system under a minister for educational affairs. The ministers, and all under them, are formed as students in a school of political theories, over which the government has no control, for the members of government are themselves formed in this school; yet, from the want of educational freedom, no counteracting opinions can be formed in the public mind, however impracticable, unsuitable, or dangerous these professorial opinions and theories may be.

But the educational system of Germany is so closely connected with the functionary system, and so influential both on the governments and the people, and is so ignorantly held up as a system to be adopted in this country, because it does undoubtedly diffuse a certain amount and kind of education, that the subject requires a long, and perhaps a tedious note for itself.

CHAP. X.

NOTES ON THE GERMAN STUDENTS, OR BURSCHENSCHAFT. — NUMBERS AT THE PRUSSIAN AND SCOTCH UNIVERSITIES COMPARED. — EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE GERMAN AND SCOTCH UNIVERSITIES DIFFERENT IN ITS OBJECT AND RESULTS FROM THAT OF THE ENGLISH. — WHY THE GERMAN STUDENTS ARE CONSIDERED DANGEROUS TO THE ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENTS. — THE RESTRICTIONS ON THE FREEDOM OF TEACHING THROW PUBLIC OPINION AND SOCIAL ACTION INTO THE HANDS OF THE PROFESSORS AT THE UNIVERSITIES. — THE WAR WITH DENMARK WAS PRODUCED BY THIS SOCIAL POWER.

We hear and read so much about the students at the German universities, the *Burschenschaft*, as a distinct and formidable political body — so much about their dress, appearance, habits, and student life — about their drinking, swaggering, duelling, extravagance in low debauchery, and exultation in their extravagance — so much, too, about their clubs, secret associations and opinions dangerous to the state, which the German sovereigns endeavour in vain to discover and suppress, that the traveller in Germany makes it one of the first subjects of his inquiries — what is this body — this *Burschenschaft?* The class of students at our universities, either in England or Scotland, are of no more social or political importance than the class of journeymen tailors, journeymen bakers, or any other class of young men. They are the same in the eye of law and police, and have no indulgence or extra permission because they are students, to disregard or

infringe on either. They form no distinct corps, and are never thought of, even in the smallest university-town in Scotland, as a class in the social body different from the other inhabitants in manners, way of living, opinions, importance, or privileges. How is it that the body of German students stands in such a very different social position in Germany? They must surely be much more numerous in proportion to the rest of the population than students are with us; yet in Scotland, at least, the expense of a university education is so moderate, and the prizes to which it leads in the Church, in the law, in official, commercial, and educational employments and medical appointments, both at home and in our colonies, are so many and valuable, that it is not easy to see why the students should be fewer, or should be of less social importance in our social body than in any Continental country. Our universities in Scotland, too, are on the same footing as those of Germany. The students lodge in the town, attend lectures at the halls of the university, are examined for their academical degrees, after an attendance of three, four, or more years, and on certain courses of lectures, and pay for the courses they attend, exactly as in Germany. The Scotch universities, also, like the German, are situated in towns of various magnitudes, two in large cities, Glasgow and Edinburgh; one in a large town, Aberdeen; and one in a very small town, St. Andrew's. It must either be that the number of students in Germany is enormously great, and the *Burschenschaft*, or corps of students, a body really formidable to the German governments; or that the governments must have something to do, something for its functionaries to watch over and be busy about, and thus the class of students,

or *Burschenschaft* may have been magnified into a false importance. To get at the truth of this question, let us take Prussia, the most educated, or at least the most educating of European countries, the most jealous of clubs, secret associations, and political agitation among her students, and withal the most governed by a busy, meddling bureaucracy, and see what proportion her *Burschenschaft* and population bear to each other, compared to the students and population of Scotland.

In 1837, Prussia contained 14,098,125 inhabitants, and 6 universities, in which the numbers of students and professors were as follow:—

At Berlin	1585 students, and	143 professors.
At Bonn	657 students, and	72 professors.
At Breslaw	721 students, and	73 professors.
At Königsberg	379 students, and	57 professors.
At Halle	638 students, and	62 professors.
At Greifswald	218 students, and	40 professors.

Of these 4198 students, 667 were foreigners, that is, not Prussian subjects, and at Berlin 402, or more than one fourth of the students, were foreigners. The universities of Breslaw and Bonn are mixed universities of catholics and protestants, with students and professors of both persuasions; but the youth studying for the catholic priesthood have distinct seminaries in various parts of the kingdom. The mixed universities for secular education are not objected to by the Roman catholic clergy in Prussia, although so violently opposed in Ireland. They are not denounced by the priests and condemned by the prelates and the pope, as godless universities, to which pious catholics ought not to send their youth; and

the reason seems to be, that in Germany, education is so highly valued, that the opposition of the catholic priesthood would be fruitless. The 447 professors are paid, as in Scotland, partly by government or by ancient endowment, and partly by the fees of the students for each course of lectures.

In 1837, the population of Scotland may be taken in round numbers at 2½ millions. It was 2,365,114 persons six years before, at the census of 1831. Now, if the 14 millions of people in Prussia, had 4198 students, the 2½ millions in Scotland ought to have 750 students to be on a level in education with the highly and generally educated Prussian people. But instead of 750 students as her educational *quota*, Scotland, in one of her universities alone, has in ordinary years almost double of that number. Can it be that the vaunted educational means and superiority of Prussia have no foundation, but in the self-delusion and vanity of her own professors and statistical writers, who look at themselves only, until they fancy themselves big, and beautiful, and unequalled in the educated world? The aggregate number of students at the four Scotch universities is stated by Professor Napier, in the Encyclopædia Britannica, article Scotland, to be usually about 2900, of whom the university of Edinburgh has, on an average, 1300, that of Glasgow 1100, and the rest are divided between Aberdeen and St. Andrew's. Instead of such a glorious staff as 447 professors — about 1 professor to every 9 students — to trumpet the praises of the educational system of Prussia — the four Scotch universities can boast only of 87 professors — about 1 to every 33 students — and of these many have no income at all from government or from ancient endowment, and have no monopoly

even of teaching their own branches of science in their own university town. The trade is free.

If, instead of Prussia, we take all Germany, and compare the number of students in the population with the number in the Scotch population, we come to a similar result. Besides the six Prussian universities, we find in Germany the following eleven, with the following numbers of students in 1835, an average year:—

Erlangen 249 students, Heidelberg 510, Wurtzburg 385, Freyburg 447, Munich 1400, Göttingen 904, Jena 454, Leipsic 1101, Kiel, Marburg, Giessen 767. These, amounting in an ordinary year to 6216 students, with the 4198 students in the six Prussian universities, make a grand total of 10,414 students for all Germany, with a population of 40 millions. The 2½ millions of Scotch people would only have to produce 650 students, instead of her 2900, to be on a par with all Germany, in university education. Scotland might suppress the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow altogether, and still be very little short of a *quota* of students equal, in proportion to her population, to that of Germany. We seem, after all, not to be so very much behind the rest of the world in educational means and the use of them, as some writers would persuade us.

But what do these statistical facts prove? That Scotland is a better-educated country than Germany? Or that attendance on universities is a test of the educational or enlightened condition of a people? By no means. They only prove that in science, literature, knowledge, and all the intellectual acquirements which education can give, supply follows demand, as surely as in the humblest physical wants

—as surely as the supply of sugar, coffee, linen, leather, together with dealers and tradesmen to work up these material objects for human use, follow the effective remunerating demand for them. The demand for educated labour happens to be greater, in proportion to the population, in Scotland than in Prussia or in Germany. Nothing else can be legitimately deduced from these facts. The Presbyterian Church requires a university education of all its ministers in every sect or division. The higher branches of the legal and medical professions require the same qualification in their members. The colonies, India, the army, the navy, and the numberless vast establishments, commercial and manufacturing, scattered over the globe by British capital and energy, create a boundless demand for that kind of educated labour which the Scotch universities can supply: and from the students forming no class or body in any way distinct from other young men, it is not incompatible nor unusual for the clerk, the apprentice, the son of the manufacturer, tradesman, or farmer, to attend a course of lectures at the university, on chemistry, agriculture, or any science connected with his future business. It is not unusual to see elderly gentlemen retired from active life, or even returned from India, refreshing their minds by taking a course of lectures at the university, and the eminent professors are seldom without several of this class of students, as well as of shop-boys and clerks, attending their lectures.

This perfect freedom in educational life and business, and the amalgamation of the students with all other classes without distinction or difference, not only makes the attainment of a university education

more common and easy in Scotland than in Germany, but keeps the supply and demand in the Scotch market for educated intellectual labour as near to a perfect balance, as the supply and demand in the market for butcher's meat or pig-iron. The young men at our universities, who see no prospect of any opening for them in the Church, the law, or the medical profession, do not, as in Germany, continue hanging on for many years at home or about the universities, waiting in idleness for some appointment under government for which their degree and character at the university give them a qualification and a kind of claim, but engage in some other way of living. Our government fortunately does not attach qualification, or any preference even for office, to academical degrees; and even in public opinion, the fitness for important practical management of great interests is by no means measured by the learning or academical honours of the individual. The near adjustment of the supply to the demand in the free trade market of intellectual or educated labour in Scotland, was clearly shown at the disruption of the free Church from the established Church. There were not theological candidates enough in Scotland to fill up the vacancies suddenly produced in the churches of the establishment, and many charges remained unfilled for a considerable time, and some were filled by ministers brought back from Canada, or removed from chapels of ease to parochial charges. Yet the vacancies did not amount to more than about one third of the body of ministers — about 370 ministers retired out of a body of parochial clergy of about 1100. The supply had evidently adjusted itself to the ordinary average demand. This is very different from

the result of the educational arrangements in Prussia, where for every 100 livings in the Church, it is stated there are 262 qualified theological candidates. In Germany it is not only in the legal, medical, and clerical professions, that a permission to exercise them founded on a university education and degree, must be obtained from government; but almost all occupations that are not military, and the military have their own schools and examinations, require the academical qualification. The departments of finance, of the royal or state domains, of roads and bridges, of the mines, of the woods and forests, of the revenue, of the revision and administration of local or general affairs, the hereditary jurisdictions, of which there are 6154 private or baronial courts, besides 7018 courts of royal or general jurisdiction, each with its staff of judges, procurators, advocates, and writers, the educational department with its universities, classical and *real* schools, gymnasia, progymnasia, seminaries, normal schools, all requiring from the functionaries or candidates a university education and degree, furnish an immense market for educated labour. Yet with all this employment for persons bred at the universities, the supply greatly exceeds the demand. It was reckoned that in Prussia in 1835, for every 100 livings in the Church, there were, as above stated, 262 candidates; for every 100 juridical offices, 256 candidates; for every 100 medical appointments, 194 candidates; and it is to be observed, that not merely the medical officers of the army or hospitals are appointed by government, but the physician, surgeon, or apothecary, in private practice in towns or in the country, must be licensed to practise in his locality, and holds, in reality, a government appointment.

These facts show, that small as the proportion is of the Prussian, compared to the Scotch population, who attend the universities, and great as the encouragement is that the Prussian government gives to educated labour, the proportion is by far too great for the natural demand, or for the real benefit of the country, the unemployed surplus being, in fact, literary idlers abstracted from the paths of productive employment, and hanging on in expectation of preferment to office. It is education fostered at the expense of industry. The young man, who with us would be in the counting-house, or at the turning-lathe, or spinning-jenny, in his father's factory, is turning verses, or spinning philosophical theories, while waiting, at the university or at home, for a tax-gatherer's place. The accumulation of this class of educated idlers beyond any employment government can give them, is easily accounted for, when we consider that vacancies to be filled up can only occur by the deaths among those already employed, who are men in the flower of life, while the body of candidates for those offices is renewed every three years, or from three to seven years, according to the period of attendance required at the university for obtaining a degree. The proof of these observations is, that in Prussia, as trade and industry increase, the attendance at the universities decreases. The number of students, for example, at Halle in 1830 was 1161, but in 1835 only 638; at Breslau in 1830 they were 1132, but in 1835 only 721, and in the other universities of Germany the same decrease of students took place as the countries were advancing in trade and industry. At Munich the numbers fell from 2000 in 1830, to 1400 in 1835, and at Göttingen from 1500 to 904. Dr. Carl Venturini, the

sagacious chronicler of this half century, ascribes this falling off of the number of students at all the German universities to the true cause, not, as some professors suppose, to the want of due encouragement to literature on the part of the governments, but to the material interests having overcome the intellectual in most parts of Germany, and the young men beginning to find out that they can bestow their time and talents better in the ordinary pursuits of industry, than in waiting for a poor church living, or a miserably paid civil function, or a medical practice which they cannot extend, or even for a professorial chair. In Scotland the universities thrive just in proportion to the thriving state of the country. In Germany it is exactly the reverse. It is when beneficial employment in trade and productive industry is not to be found, that government employment is most sought after by a qualification at the universities; and times of a great affluence of students at all the universities, indicate times of great depression and stagnation in all affairs and interests, in all industrial pursuits, and all means of living.

Education in Germany, as in Scotland, is different in its principle from education in England. What do the English people mean when they send their boys, at ten years of age, to eminent schools, and in due time to Oxford or Cambridge, and then bring them home at twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, to enter on their future professions or paths of life, whatever these may be, according to their prospects or fortunes? Do these English parents act wisely or foolishly? What a silly ignorant lad their young man appears to be, with his prosody or his algebra, his *longs* and *shorts*, or his *plus* and *minus*,

his mathematics or his Greek and Latin, and with his fine fellows, his reading men, or his sporting men of his college! What a foolish figure he cuts beside a Continental or a Scotch lad of the same age, from the universities, who knows something of half a dozen sciences, something of half a dozen languages, has some knowledge of chemistry, natural philosophy, political economy, metaphysics, talks well on geology, and all the fashionable speculations of the day, and is acquainted with history, literature, and politics, and is master of many gentlemanly accomplishments! But wait a little. Take the two young men some ten or twelve years afterwards. The German or Scotch lad is, in general, still where he was at nineteen, still but a lad in mind, still a babbler on the surface of every subject. The English bred lad has gone to his profession or to his station in private or public life with very little positive knowledge to show for his education, but with a mind well exercised, although, perhaps, on very useless or foolish things, and capable of a severe and intense application to the subject before it, and just, perhaps, because it has been exercised and trained on things dull, dry, and unattractive, and which require patient thinking, or indeed mental drudgery, to acquire them. What have been the most serious studies of the Scotch or German bred student, are now his relaxations. He gathers in, hand over hand, the popular branches of knowledge, the modern languages, and the more abstruse sciences. These are not fatiguing studies to a mind trained to patient application and thinking. In law, in political affairs, in commerce and ordinary business, he enters with intellectual powers which seem almost intuitively to grasp the right views

and the necessary knowledge of the subject before him. The two men, at thirty years of age, are prodigiously different.

The long period which the student on the Continent must pass before he can get an appointment, enables a great many of superior minds to go deeper into philosophy and science than the superficial acquirements of the class-room student; but this long period does not form a practical reflective turn of mind. It produces a man of theory and speculation, not of active habits. The Scotch university education, attempting to teach a science in a course of lectures, can only produce superficial men. The English universities, which do not profess to teach any thing at all, but merely to exercise and train the intellectual powers in studies, classical or mathematical, which are a valuable means, but are not held out as a valuable end, seem the more sensible and rational institutions. They accomplish what they profess, and give habits of application and correct reasoning to their students. The German and Scotch universities do not accomplish what they profess. The Scotch universities are, at least, innocent institutions, and indispensable, perhaps, for medical science. The German universities are, at present, red-hot *foci* of exaggerated theories and political speculations, not seats of useful education.

The German universities were, no doubt, well adapted to the times in which they were instituted, to the middle ages or the first dawn of science, when instruction was almost entirely oral, books and scholars rare, and the law, the Church, and the universities themselves, gave the only employment, reward, or distinction to the student or the man of scientific

attainment. The diffusion of knowledge and intellectual movement by the press, and by that peculiar feature of our age, the application of science to the useful arts, has reduced the efficiency of those universities which propose to teach the sciences in lectures, almost to an absurdity. In the present state of science, a man pretending to teach any one science, physical or intellectual, to 120 pupils in 120 hours, is, like the wizard of the north putting a tomtit's egg into his magic box, and in two minutes producing from it a full-grown goose. Yet, this is precisely the position of the most able Scotch or German professor, doing faithfully his utmost, in a six months' course of lectures, of an hour a day, for five days of the week, to impart a science to a class of lads, each of whom has at least two, and often three other sciences to learn, that is, classes to attend, during the same half-year. Considerably more time and mental application are bestowed on the instruction of a carpenter or a plumber and glazier in his trade, than on the instruction of a student at a university, in his science. It is the system that is in fault, not the teachers. The professors are unquestionably men of the highest attainments in their respective branches, but what can they teach in 120 hours in the present extended and daily accumulating knowledge in every branch of science? The time would scarcely suffice to run over, in the most cursory way, the history of its progress, the various systems and opinions that have prevailed, and the improvements and alterations that have been adopted. If not the interests of sciences, the much higher objects, the peace, order, and well-being of society, require the abolition of the present system of German

universities, by which the youth, the public functionaries, the whole legislative and administrative machinery of the state and education of the people, and the public opinion itself, are trained and moulded into theoretical and exaggerated views of the real affairs of life, by a *clique* of visionary professors who have in reality the formation of the mind of every human being susceptible of education, from the child's at a day school to the statesman's in the cabinet of the sovereign, entirely in their hands. Free trade in education is even more necessary than in commercial or manufacturing affairs, for the stability of modern governments and the true liberty of the people. What was the cause of the commotions in Germany in 1848, but the exaggerated doctrines and speculations of the universities spread over, inculcated, indoctrinated into all the educated classes of the community? and what is the cause of the utter failure of this movement in 1849, even when it had the power, at Frankfort, to establish rational liberty and constitutional government throughout Germany, but the false education of the public mind and opinion, through the universities, in favour of theories not attainable, or, if attainable, of doubtful advantage? The benefit of the collision of opinion against opinion, of the views of one great mass of population being opposed by those of another mass, and the folly in each being neutralised before public opinion is formed and fixed, is altogether wanting in Germany; because all opinion is issued, ready made and of the same stuff and fashion, from the universities, and all men in every station come out clothed in it. Germany never can be a free country until education is free. A score or two of obscure visionaries at the univer-

sities will set the public opinion to any tune they please. Would science suffer, would knowledge be extinguished, and would mankind wander in darkness if the universities of Berlin, Bonn, Jena, Munich, Göttingen, Heidelberg, and a dozen others, were entirely abolished? It does not appear that England is behind Germany in scientific attainments. Philosophy, legislation, political economy, history, poetry, law, mathematics, chemistry, in short all the branches of the tree of knowledge, seem tolerably well loaded with fruit, every year, in the garden of England. But the gardeners are not bred exclusively at Oxford or Cambridge; education is free, is acquired from thousands of different sources; and false views in religion, politics, philosophy, social economy, or in physical science, are at once detected and exposed by those educated in different views and by different means; and the public opinion is not formed on the abstract philosophy of any lectures inapplicable to present and existing realities, but on a comparison and balance of opinions from men educated under various circumstances and systems, and from various quarters. In Germany, it must strike every traveller that the student at Kiel on the Baltic, is in mind, opinions on all subjects, in impulses and character, precisely the counterpart of the student at Heidelberg on the Neckar, or at Munich or Berlin. He is not of his own formation in mind or opinion, but of the formation of one peculiar system of opinions in religion, social philosophy, and politics, inculcated from infancy to manhood at his school and university; and yet that system has no value in practical affairs, because it treats of abstract propositions, very true in themselves, but very inapplicable to existing in-

terests. The abolition of the universities, that is, of the *senatus academicus* and its separate jurisdiction, of the privileges of the students, and the exclusive rights of the professors to teach and confer degrees or diplomas, the establishment, instead of universities, of ambulatory boards of examination totally distinct from the business of tuition and strictly examining and conferring degrees or diplomas on qualified candidates, without regard to where, when, or how they had acquired their knowledge, would, perhaps, be the wisest step the German governments could take for emancipating themselves from a professorial influence, which in effect resembles closely that of the clerical influence over all social action in the middle ages. It would, in reality, be an emancipation of public opinion in Germany. The Germans are eminently a loyal people, much more so than the English. They have dynastic loyalty, are loyal to the family, to the person, to the very faults or vices of their rulers. We have no such loyalty, none that would stand the test of misgovernment, or even of personal misconduct. We have changed our dynasty, and would do so again, for such inroads on constitutional government, established law, religion, and morals, as the Continental man submits to, yet retains his unshaken attachment to the dynasty he was born under. The German sovereigns have thrown away this valuable, to them at least valuable, propensity in the German character; and have allowed a class, a sect, to acquire a monopoly of the public mind and opinion, and to train all the other classes to views very much opposed to the stability of their power. If, trusting to the natural tendency of the German mind to loyalty, peace, and social order, they had left education, re-

ligion, and the press entirely free, and had allowed the theories, speculations, and follies of literary men and philosophers to neutralise each other, the support of public opinion in favour of the existing dynasties and state principles would have been much more powerful and united. The German thrones have been undermined by the German universities. A social interest and influence independent of, and adverse to, the German governments, wielded by the universities in one direction, may be considered the great political power in Germany, and that which will ultimately triumph over all the existing institutions.

How is it that with a body of students in Scotland so much larger in proportion to the population than in Prussia, and in universities on the same arrangement and educational principle, our government sees no plots, conspiracies, or dangerous associations among them? The young men have no doubt their clubs, meetings, debating societies, and spout, harangue, and rave over their whisky-toddy about the rights of man and republican institutions, talk politics, talk treason sometimes, and discuss the first principles of government and the duty of immolating tyrants on the altar of liberty, and would all be Brutuses if they could find Cæsars, as well as the young lads at the German universities. How is it that our government finds no danger in all this youthful bluster? and that the young men at our universities form no distinct corps, no peculiar body dangerous to the state, like the German *Burschenschaft?* It is simply because they are not made a distinct corps of, are not considered of any importance, and therefore are of none; are obliged to conduct themselves like other people under the common law and police of the land, and

are punished for offences by the same laws and tribunals and in the same way as other people. In Germany, the *senatus academicus* of each university has a distinct jurisdiction over the students. They are amenable to, and tried and punished only by their academical judges who have powers, independent of the ordinary civil courts; to punish them for civil or police transgressions, by fine, arrest, imprisonment, for which there is a special academical prison in each university, and by rustication or total expulsion. The students live under a different judicature even for offences against the public peace, are distinct from the ordinary courts of the country, and consequently they form a distinct body from the rest of the people. But the judges in these academical courts, the professors, depend for their incomes, or means of living, although not entirely, yet very much, on the number of students who take out tickets for their courses of lectures. They are not individually in a position to be over severe in their sentences, or they might next session be themselves the parties living on bread and water. They might have no hearers and no fees. The *senatus* also naturally consider, that if their university got the reputation of being very strict and rigorous, the preference would be given by students to some other university, in which the judicature was more lax; and the number of students, their own profits, and the character of their university would be diminished. All this absurd arrangement of a police within a police, and a distinct body like a military class, but without military discipline or an effective judicature to keep it in order, falls away in our common-sense arrangement by which the student is subject to the same law and

tribunal as other young men in the town; and whatever academical punishment the professors may inflict, will certainly be fined or sent to Bridewell for any offence or breach of the peace, by the ordinary judge, along with the journeymen tailors or shoemakers who may have taken part in the fray.

Absurd as it may appear on a superficial view, that in a population of forty millions of people some ten or twelve thousand lads, scattered in seventeen universities, should give uneasiness and arouse the watchful jealousy of the German sovereigns about their opinions, the absurdity vanishes and the great importance of this element in the social state of Germany appears in its full magnitude, on a nearer approach. Out of this body of ten or twelve thousand *Burschen*, living from boyhood to manhood as a distinct body from the rest of their fellow-subjects, accumulating in numbers yearly, and renewed every five or six years by a new swarm, must be replenished all the civil functionaries who are to advise the sovereigns, guide the state affairs, administer the law, conduct the business of government, and educate the succeeding generation in the schools and universities. It is the great social evil in Germany, that men are called from this ill-educated body — ill-educated for all practical social business — to administer laws which they never obeyed, or saw the working of on the various interests of society, and are called out of the narrow prejudiced circle of student life and functionary life in the universities and *bureaux*, to legislate in the cabinets of the German sovereigns, on subjects and interests which they never, as private men, entered into or understood. They have had no opportunity of understanding the business of their

fellow-citizens, of the *Philister*, as the student and functionary call those who have not been *Burschen* or functionaries; and they have lived and been bred up, not only in ignorance of, and non-intercourse with them, but with antagonistic feelings and prejudices against them. This is the root of much misgovernment in Germany. It is in reality a lay Jesuitism. What were the Jesuits? Men bred up from boyhood in a separated exclusive conventual life, ignorant consequently of the wants and interests of society from which they were professionally cut off, yet influencing and governing society in its most important interests and objects, by the power which their religious connection with princes, courts, and cabinet-ministers gave them in all political affairs. German functionarism is this Jesuitism *minus* the religious element. The functionary class in Germany, the *Beamptenstand*, are men bred from boyhood to manhood in the schools, universities, and *bureaux*, with a distinct spirit and character, distinct privileges, ideas, habits, and modes of living and thinking, from the rest of the community; and with distinct laws, judicatures, punishments, rewards, and motives of action. They are transplanted from this university life, as different from the life of the rest of society as if they had been bred up in a Jesuits' college; and, from *Burschen* they become *employés* in the inferior offices of the state departments, rising by favour or merit to functions of more or less importance. They are naturally and necessarily imbued with that *esprit de corps*, that class spirit, which regards the people as existing rather for the support of functionaries, than functionaries for the service of the people. They have never lived with the people, or had common

interests or feelings with the mass of the social body, whom they are placed over. The heads of departments, the cabinet ministers, and the lower officials, or expectants in the state *bureaux*, and in all the legislative, administrative, and executive machinery of the state, are men formed alike in this conventional school in which theory is abundant and actual acquaintance with the wants of society is necessarily rare and imperfect. They have mixed with the rest of the community only as students, expectants on office, or as officials, not as equals partaking in common interests, opinions, and views. They are, to the mass of the population of Germany, what the civil and military functionaries of the East India Company are to the population of Hindostan.

The congress of sovereigns at Carlsbad in 1819, appears to have been assembled solely for the purpose of deliberating upon the anomalous position in which the sovereigns themselves are placed by this educational system in Germany. No other result, at least, of that congress ever appeared than a requisition to the diet of the German confederation sitting at Frankfort, to appoint a commission of their members, to examine and report upon the secret associations and political clubs and opinions of the students in the German universities. The Commission took three years to find matter to report upon. In 1822, their report appeared, and beginning with Fichte's address to the German people in 1806, and the *Tugendbund*, established by Prince Hardenberg in 1808, for the deliverance of Prussia from the French yoke, it went through about thirty-two heads of associations, meetings, writings, all more or less political, mystical, and absurd. Teutonia, Arminia, Ehrenspiegel, united *Bur-*

schenschaft, are names of some of those pothouse clubs which shook the Continental sovereigns from their propriety. The indirect influence, however, of this body of *Burschenschaft*, and the events of 1848 in Germany resulting from that influence, justify the vague apprehensions which the sovereigns felt so early as 1819, that there was something wrong and dangerous to their power in the educational system of Germany—something which even their cabinet ministers were incompetent to advise them on. The sovereign in fact has, under this system, none to choose from, even for the highest state offices, but men bred in the same principles and views as their predecessors, men originally *Burschen*, afterwards *employés*. They are the only class in the social body from whom the sovereign can select qualified servants, no other class having the influence, interest, or knowledge necessary; and this class is formed in the same school and all with the same political education. He may change men, but not measures or principles in his cabinet. The political opinions and principles adopted by the *Burschenschaft* are, in this view, of the highest importance to the governments standing on the principle of autocratic rule. The public opinion is formed by the *Burschenschaft;* the press has no vitality but what it receives from this source; the education of the people, from the child at the day-school to the minister at the elbow of the monarch, is entirely in the hands of men from this university-formation indoctrinated in early youth with one code of political opinion by their professors. It was evident in 1819, that as the older functionaries in every department and rank died out, they must be replaced by men bred in the much more liberal, or perhaps democratical principles that have

since prevailed in Germany. The year 1848 had been in preparation since the year 1816. It is a re-action against a policy of the German sovereigns too repressive of the arrangements suitable to, and required by the spirit of the age. The Congress of Vienna in 1815, forgot in the pride of victory that the people were a party not to be overlooked in the political and social arrangements they were adopting, and the sovereigns are now deservedly paying the penalty of their ambition, or rather greed. The reckless annexations and gifts of provinces and populations to Prussia, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, without regard to the interests or sentiments of the people, tore asunder and annihilated in the German mind, the ancient ties of affection and loyalty to the sovereign and his family, which held together the crazy fabric of the German states, and made the people indulgent and patient under the vices and misgovernment of their rulers. When transferred to other rulers and to new sovereigns and laws, the loyalty, affection, and confidence of the people could not be transferred. A spirit of opposition and discontent has been secretly glowing under the surface of the settlement of Germany by the Vienna congress. The restrictions on freedom of trade, freedom of the press, freedom of conversation, freedom of personal and social action, have raised a spirit of innovation, a demand for radical reforms, in the social and political state of the German people, which cannot be put down. The professors educate the functionaries, from the village schoolmaster to the prime minister, in one uncontradicted code of political views and opinions, and hold the trigger by which public opinion may at any moment be made to explode.

The influence and working of this great social power is remarkably illustrated by the intrigues of the Duke of Augustenburg for separating the duchy of Schleswig from the Danish crown, and annexing it to the duchy of Holstein, to which, as a part of the German empire, he is next heir. The university of Kiel, the professors, students, functionaries, clergy, and the provincial newspapers, were all set to work to preach a crusade against the Danish language, laws, and government, and to raise a fanatical cry throughout Germany for the annexation of Schleswig to the German duchy of Holstein. The papers of the duke fell into the hands of the Danish government, and are published by the keeper of the royal archives, Dr. Wegener. They clearly prove one of the most foul conspiracies of modern history, to mislead the public mind by the press and the teachers of the youth upon the right to dismember the Danish monarchy, and to erect Schleswig and Holstein into one duchy for the benefit of this Duke of Augustenburg. Prussia itself, and all the German governments, had to follow, not to lead or control, the demoralised frenzy of the *Burschenschaft*, and to engage in a bloody and disgraceful war for an unjust and unprincipled object, at the bidding of a *clique* of professors, functionaries, newspaper writers, and students, influenced, and even bribed and paid, by this nobleman to raise a clamour in favour of his pretensions, and excite the public mind to demand the annexation of Schleswig to Germany, because a portion, about one-third of the inhabitants, speak the German language. The professorial influence in Germany was more powerful than the governments, and forced them to engage in this war with Denmark.

CHAP. XI.

NOTES ON THE LANDWEHR SYSTEM.—AN ANCIENT ESTABLISHMENT—REVIVED AFTER THE PEACE OF TILSIT IN 1807 BY PRUSSIA—ITS EFFICIENCY PROVED IN 1813, 1814—ITS PRESENT ORGANISATION—NOT SUITABLE TO TIMES OF PEACE.—OPPRESSIVE AND DEMORALISING EFFECTS OF THE LANDWEHR SERVICE ON THE PEOPLE.—LANDWEHR AND A STANDING ARMY COMPARED.—EFFECTS OF THE THREE NEW ELEMENTS IN THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE CONTINENT.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND FUNCTIONARISM AND LANDWEHR SERVICE CONSIDERED.—NOTES ON THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND FORTIFICATIONS ON THE CONTINENT.—ON PENAL LABOUR ON FORTIFICATIONS.—ON THE ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT—WHY IT CANNOT BE ABOLISHED IN OUR PENAL CODE.—ON THE WANT OF SELF-RESPECT IN THE CONTINENTAL CHARACTER—NOTIONS OF LIBERTY.—FORM OF A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE REALITY OF FREEDOM.

THE Landwehr system is the third of the new elements introduced by the French revolution into the social economy of the Continent—one happily unknown to us, and inconsistent with our institutions and our habits and ideas of individual civil liberty. It deserves to be fully explained, and its effects on the condition and character of the Continental people examined, at the expense, perhaps, of a tedious repetition of previous remarks. It enters so deeply into the social state of the German people that, on every subject connected with their present social condition and economy, allusions or observations regarding it are unavoidable.

The Landwehr system is by no means a modern institution, or a new military arrangement dating

from 1813, 1814, when it was renewed and organised in its present form by Prussia, and, in imitation of Prussia, by all the German sovereigns. It is the ancient feudal organisation of the people, which, before standing armies in constant pay were introduced, existed under the same names of *Landwehr*, *Landsturm*, or *Heerbann*, and formed the main military force of every country. When the feudal system was in full vigour, every crown vassal, with all his immediate vassals and all their subvassals, peasants, or serfs, among whom were various degrees of servitude—as Leibeigen; hörigen, eigene Leute; zinsbare Liten; Leuden, litones; in the Latin documents of the middle ages called, servi, mancipii, homines proprii, coloni, mensuari, glebæ adscripti, censuales, servi beneficiarii, servi Palatii, villani, &c. &c.; were all liable to military service, and to be called out in a mass by the sovereign: and this general levy was called the *Landwehr* or *Landsturm*. The class of free people who were not noble were called the *wohlgeborne Männer* of cities, towns, or country districts; and were liable, as well as the nobles, subvassals, and serfs, to this military duty. They served on foot, not as nobles and knights on horseback; and on ordinary occasions could, by paying a *scutagium*, or tax, obtain an exemption from this military attendance. Every knight was bound to appear on the field with two squires, two servants, and nine horses, as his personal equipment. This was called a *glaiva*, *glaifie*, or *gleve*, and appears to have been reckoned at five fighting men *per glaiva*. In 1431, the Emperor Sigismund fixed the *quota* to be furnished to his army in the Netherlands, by the provinces of Holland and Zealand, at 200 glaives, being 1000 mounted men. The infantry,

about the same period, viz. in 1475, and in the same country, were reckoned by spears. Each spear consisted of the spearman, a squire, a weapon-bearer, and eight heavy-armed men on foot. From these spears, probably, came the spontoons and halberds, used until a late period in our standing armies to distinguish officers and serjeants in command of similar small divisions of troops. This old arrangement was social as well as military. Each glaiva, or spear, was composed of the people on the land paying the military service due for it to their feudal lord or superior. They were connected with the leader as tenants or serfs, and landlord or feudal master and owner, as well as by the military connection of soldiers and officer. The discipline, drill, and use of such weapons as troops were armed with before the introduction of fire-arms in warfare, and the simple field-movements required in battles which only commenced when men came hand to hand in combat, might perhaps be acquired better in the small divisions of this Landwehr force, living together on the land under their own spearman, or knight, and exercised at their wapentakes, than if they had been congregated in larger bodies. The use of fire-arms necessarily introduced standing armies. In the thirteenth century, money, *scutagia*, began to be taken instead of personal service. Towns and villages, as well as individuals, began to purchase their exemption from the *Landwehr;* and *Sondinieren*, *Sondinaren*, *Söldners*, soldiers, or men receiving *söld*, or pay, were generally hired; and at first only for a campaign or a short period. The Landwehr men whom they replaced as substitutes, were only liable to service for forty days in the field. Charles VII. of France, after he had cleared his do-

minions of the English, was the first sovereign who kept up what could be called a standing army. He had 9000 horsemen, and 16,000 foot soldiers, always in pay. Body-guards, guards of castles, and warders of city gates, are mentioned in the older chronicles; but these could scarcely be called a standing army of the state, being troops in the pay of the different barons or city municipalities, who engaged them. In 1475, Charles the Bold had 2200 spears in his pay, which would be a body of about 24,000 men. They were called *Lansquenets*, or *Lanceknechts*; that is, attendants on the spear, or lance, to which they belonged. He had besides, 4000 *Schutzen* (shooters) three fourths of whom were mounted, 600 musketeers, and 600 artillerymen. The distinction between the *Schutzen* and the musketeers is not very clear; or whether the *Schutzen* were bowmen, and the musketeers men with fire-arms; or whether the mounted *Schutzen* were men with the heavy fire-arms, springals, blunderbusses, &c., which required a prop in firing them and horses to transport them; and the others were armed with the ordinary matchlock muskets. The use of fire-arms necessarily produced a general commutation of the feudal Landwehr service into a tax, a *scutagium*. The hired soldier, bred to the manipulations and movements which the new weapon required, superseded the peasant taken from his plough, or the baron from his hounds and hawks, for a few weeks' service, with sword, spear, and bow. The change was in every way beneficial to society. It emancipated the body of the people from a heavy, oppressive, and demoralising burden of military service, and gave the state a more effective army. It settled also the relative strength of sovereigns, put

an end to small wars of petty barons or princes, and prevented for ever the anarchy of the middle ages, when every little state ravaged the territories of its neighbour. The number of battalions in a regular standing army became the measure of the power and importance of a country, and that number was limited by the financial means of each country to pay them. It was a manifest advance in the social economy of Europe, that the capability of paying taxes, a capability which is the result of industry, security of property, and good government, came to be the sole measure of the strength of a country, either for defence or attack, instead of the brute force of a multitude congregated suddenly with rude and cheap weapons and imperfect discipline, for landwehr service. The standing armies also of the Continent, not being exposed to unwholesome climates or duties, are when once separated from the main stock of the population, renewed by a very small percentage of the original force being added yearly to keep up their numbers. In a standing army of 100,000 men, the loss by death, in time of peace, will not exceed the mortality among an equal number of common labourers. Should the yearly deficiency in any one year of war amount even to 20 per cent., still to replace that number of 20,000 men by ballot or recruitment, or even conscription, is a far less heavy evil to society than the disturbing of all industry and domestic arrangements by calling out all men, whatever be their social position and duties, for military service in a Landwehr. It is a retrograde step, not an advance, to recur, in our state of civilisation and in ordinary peaceful times, to the military organisation of the people of the middle ages. In

every modern community there will be found four or five individuals in every hundred of the generation able to bear arms, who, from temperament, social position, habits, and turn of mind, seem born to be soldiers — are unfit for any occupation or way of living in the useful arts, and are well adapted for military service. From this class substitutes, much more suitable than their principals for military service, can always be obtained at a fair bounty; and for society almost any bounty should be preferred, even should it be paid by the state, to breaking up the industrial enterprise of the class of employers, and the steady, regular, working-habits of the employed, by making them all indiscriminately serve for a term of years in the army.

The standing armies of the Continental powers fell into disrepute during the French wars of the revolution. An outrageous discipline, inhuman severity of punishment, and a ludicrous importance given to trifling observances in buttons, buckles, pigtails, hair-powder, and pipeclay, distinguished particularly the Prussian service, which, after the Seven Years' War, and up to the year 1794, was held to be the model of perfection in all military affairs. The cane of the serjeant and corporal never rested, and the barbarous discipline in trifles brutified the common soldier and stultified his commanders. The mind of the superior officer was formed upon an unceasing attention to the brightness of belts and buckles, the uniformity of the length and tie of the soldier's queue, and the machine-like precision of his drill and parade movements. The higher officers of the European armies, the princes and commanders by hereditary right of the forces of their own countries, repaired to

Potsdam, to study Prussian military regulations and discipline, and, on their return, introduced them into the armies they were born to command, with additional severity. An extreme attention to trifling observances in dress and drill constituted the military education in this school; and a great proportion of the superior officers of the Continental armies who had been formed in it, were in mind and military capacity merely drill-serjeants in a higher rank. The signal defeats of the German armies, and of our own troops also, in the first campaigns against the armies of the French republic, proved the want of true military qualifications for high command in the officers bred in this martinet school. It was brought to the test in the war between Prussia and France, which began in the end of September, 1806; and by the battles of Auerstadt and Jena, on the 13th and 14th of October, ended in the total defeat, dispersion, or submission of the highly drilled Prussian army, which, since the Seven Years' War, had been the model of all the other European armies. The failure was signal, almost ludicrous, from its completeness and rapidity. In little more than four weeks from the advance of the Prussian army to Dresden (21st September, 1806), it was defeated, dispersed — Bonaparte was in Berlin on the 27th October, his troops on the Vistula, and every important fortress in the kingdom had been surrendered, and generally without a military necessity or an honourable defence. Such were the results of a single campaign of six weeks, between a model army of parade perfection, an army of military human machines, in which the soldier's mind, spirit, or *morale* was annihilated by a system of brutal discipline enforcing childish observances by inhuman

punishments, and an army in which, with a discipline of life or death on essential points of duty, the trifling observances of the Prussian martinet school were regarded as trifles, were not enforced by the cane or lash, and in which the feelings of self-respect of the common soldier were attended to and cherished.

By the Peace of Tilsit in 1807, Prussia was reduced to the rank of a second-rate power. She lost territories containing a population of four millions eight hundred thousand inhabitants, with a corresponding proportion of her former revenues. Her army was reduced from a nominal strength of 239,000 men in 1806, to a nominal strength of 30,000 in 1807. Her remaining territories were cut up by a free right of way for Saxon and French troops, on three different military roads, across Prussia to their possessions of Warsaw and the city of Dantzig; and the passage of troops to change the garrisons and renew the military stores in those districts, ceded by the Peace of Tilsit to Saxony and France, was a perpetual military *surveillance* and check on every movement of Prussia. The jealousy of France would have prevented any augmentation of the Prussian army, even if the financial state of Prussia had not prevented it as effectually. The *prestige*, too, in favour of a highly drilled standing army was gone, was beaten out of favour with all men, by the defeats it had suffered from armies of raw conscripts. The re-action of opinion went perhaps too far, and a standing army, as a military means, was undervalued as much as it had been overvalued before the wars of the revolution. Its social advantage over a Landwehr force was not thought of then, and is seldom considered by social economists now. The renewal of the old German Landwehr system was a

political necessity in the situation of Prussia impoverished and watched over by France. It was a master-stroke of policy to renew it, and the renewal was carried into effect without giving umbrage, creating jealousy, or even attracting notice. By a royal edict of 9th October, 1807, it was declared that peasants and burgesses were entitled to purchase land, which before could be held only by nobles. There were small peasant properties held under many feudal duties and even degrading servitudes to the lord of the barony, which were the only lands persons not noble-born could acquire. All the feudal restrictions on the free use of land by the purchasers, all personal services, as leibeigen peasants or serfs, were abolished from the year 1810 by this edict. It abolished those privileges of the nobles, which extended to exemption from taxes, from military service, and other duties, and it placed them, in their relations to the state, on the same footing as other classes of Prussian subjects. The hereditary jurisdictions, however, of the nobles, and the payments of such feudal services for land as were not personal, but fixed rents in labour, were considered to be patrimonial and pecuniary interests, and were not touched by this edict. This first step was taken in the ministry of Stein, who in the following year was dismissed to appease the jealousy of the French government. He was succeeded by Altenstein, who made no advance in the path opened up by Stein; but Hardenberg was appointed minister in 1810, and he abolished many of the remaining privileges and exemptions, both of the nobility and of corporations, and relieved the peasantry of the feudal burdens on their land at fixed rates settled by commissioners, and abolished the duty of providing horses and provender

for the nobles and functionaries travelling on the public service, without any remuneration, as previously was the case. The sale also, in small lots, of the state domains and of many estates of nobles impoverished by the expenses of modern life, created a body of independent peasant proprietors, who now had rights and interests to defend. It was not until March, 1813, that these steps had prepared the people for the organisation of a general Landwehr force, in which all males above seventeen years of age and able to carry arms, were called on to serve. The war against France was already declared. It was a time of general excitement and enthusiasm. The French army was on its disorderly retreat from Moscow. The German people saw the humiliation of its oppressors, and they were suffering from the vindictiveness of the proud army on its flight. No law or conscription was necessary to rouse them to arms. The Landwehr fully justified, at this crisis, the reliance of the Prussian government. It raised the Prussian army of about 40,000 troops of the line, to a numerical strength of 200,000 men at the opening of the campaign. In every military operation and conflict, at the battle of the Katzbach, at the battle of Leipsic, at the numerous battles previous to the occupation of Paris by the allied powers in March, 1814, the Landwehr proved its efficiency as a military force. But in estimating its military value compared to a standing army, or what is called troops of the line, it must be remembered that in this campaign, and in all the military operations between the retreat of the French army from Russia and the battle of Waterloo, it was Landwehr against Landwehr. The French troops were but a Landwehr composed of raw conscripts, with as

small, or probably a smaller proportion of old regular soldiers among them than the Prussian army. The skeletons only, and scarcely the skeletons of the French regiments of the line escaped from Moscow; and the veterans who survived the disastrous retreat, were not fit for the immediate service that followed close upon it. What remained of the formed and seasoned troops of the line of the old French army, were in Spain. The French Landwehr men, or conscripts, were physically inferior to the Prussian Landwehr men, as the adult population in France had been exhausted and anticipated by preceding conscriptions for the Russian and Spanish campaigns, and the ranks were filled with lads who had not arrived at the strength and endurance requisite for military service. They were morally inferior also. The whole German population between seventeen and sixty years of age, armed and united for rescuing their different districts of the common country from the oppression and exactions of a foreign invader, which all had felt, were fighting under an excitement and enthusiasm to which their opponents were strangers. The mass of the French conscripts were in the field by compulsion, and had not been embodied long enough to acquire that discipline and those feelings of attachment to their regiment, their officers, and comrades, and that *esprit de corps* which carry on the soldiers of a standing army. It can scarcely be concluded, from the military events of 1813 and 1814, that a Landwehr force is, in ordinary circumstances of warfare, equal to a standing army. It was under extraordinary circumstances, such as Europe had not witnessed since the Crusades, in a war in which the enthusiasm of the people was the great element and moving power, and

which the governments had only to organise, guide, and lead to battle, that the Landwehr system arose, was tried, and fully succeeded. If it be as effective and useful a military force in ordinary times, and as well adapted to the well-being of civilised people in its military and social effects and tendencies, as a standing army of men having no profession or prospects but those of a military life, may well be doubted. The Landwehr system as now existing in Prussia, and followed with slight differences of details, by all the other German governments, is this: —

The Prussian army consists of regiments of the line, or standing troops. This is considered the formation-school of the military force or army of the whole population of the country. Every male, without exception, in the whole population is bound to serve three years, between his twentieth and his twenty-fifth years, as a private in the ranks of a regiment of the line. The only exceptions are cases of bodily infirmity, and the clergy, schoolmasters, only sons of widows, and a few others; and the liability to serve is rather suspended than altogether abandoned by government in those exceptions. Property, rank, occupation, business, give no claim to exemption, and no substitutes or *remplacents* are accepted of, as in the French conscription system. Every man must serve as a private in the ranks of a regiment of the line, whatever be his social position. The only allowance made is, that young men of property or of the higher classes and professions, who provide their own clothing, arms, and equipment at their own expense, may be permitted to serve in certain rifle or chasseur corps for one year only, instead of three, on a petition with sufficient reasons

given for the indulgence required. After the three years' service in the line, the young man is turned over to his district Landwehr regiment of the *ersten Aufgeboth*, or, as we would call it, first for service. This division of the Landwehr force is considered the proper army; the troops of the line being its formation-school. It is liable, like the standing army, to serve in or out of the country; but in time of peace to save expense it is only embodied for manœuvre and exercise for a few weeks yearly. Its staff only is in constant pay. The division of the second *Aufgeboth*, or second for service, consists of all who have served their three years in the line, and their two years in the Landwehr of the first *Aufgeboth*, and are under forty years of age. These are considered trained soldiers, and men settled in occupations, and are therefore, in time of peace, only assembled in small divisions, and in their own localities, for a few days' exercise. The Landsturm consists of all not in the the service, or discharged from it by the completion of their terms of service in the other divisions; and it is mustered and organised as well as the other divisions of the Landwehr force. The principle of the system is, that every Prussian subject, without exception, shall pass through a military training of three years, in the ranks of a regiment of the line, and shall then be available during his whole life as a trained soldier, in one or other of the divisions of the Landwehr force, according to his age and fitness for any military duty. A whole nation, with scarcely the exception of a single able-bodied man, and without exemption of class or station, passing through a military training of three years in the ranks of regiments of the line, and then formed into regiments from which, when

engaged in civil occupations, the men are only as it were on furlough, or like soldiers in cantonments, and are called together, mustered, and exercised for several weeks in field manœuvres, gives an imposing impression of this military force. The perfection also of all the arrangements of this vast and complicated system, and the general fairness, impartiality, and economy with which it is worked, must raise the admiration of every traveller who inquires about the Landwehr. But is it a good military system? Is it a good social system?

The military and social results are so blended together that they cannot be separately considered. The whole nation is an army; the army is not merely a class in the nation, more or less numerous according to the financial resources and political position of the state. The first observation that will occur to the social economist, on the slightest consideration of the Landwehr system, is that the system counteracts its own object. Here is an immense army on paper; but the means to move this immense army is in an inverse ratio to its numbers. The means of the state to bring this vast body of trained soldiers, or any considerable portion of them, into the field in actual warfare, are the financial resources of the country; money being the sinews of war. But the financial resources of every country depend upon the productive industry of the people, out of which alone taxes to the state proceed; and if the productive industry of the people be diminished by three years of their time and labour being taken up in military service, by so much is the means of the state to move this vast force in military operations diminished. The productive as well as the military time of life of

the industrious man begins about twenty, and ends about fifty years of age. These thirty years are his capital stock; and whatever he contributes, directly or indirectly, to the finances of the state, must be earned within these thirty years, by the application of his time and labour to some kind of productive industry. If one-tenth of this time be taken from him, and consumed in military services, he is so much poorer, and the state is so much poorer. The indirect loss to both is probably as great as the direct loss; for a man cannot turn at once from the habits of military life to the habits of steady industry, and to the sedentary occupations of civil life. If he has gone through an apprenticeship, and learned a trade, before beginning his three years' service in a regiment, he must almost have to learn it over again after three years' disuse of his working tools and working habits. He can never become an expert quick workman in any handicraft. But besides his three years of continuous service at the age most important to form the habits of a working man, his time is broken in upon and his habits deranged every year by his military service of six or eight weeks in his Landwehr regiment. One-sixth probably of his working year is consumed before he can return to his working habits. All this is a dead loss to the state, as well as to the individual. It diminishes the capability of the aggregate body of individuals — the nation — to furnish the taxes necessary to move the numbers embodied and kept up as a Landwehr, in any military operation. If every war were, like that of 1813—15, a war to shake off the oppression of a foreign invader, in which every interest and feeling was roused to a mighty and enthusiastic effort to

drive the oppressors across the Rhine, and in which English subsidies furnished to Prussia and the Continental powers the financial means for military operations, the Landwehr system might be the best and most suitable; but it appears a mistaken policy to continue in time of peace a military organisation of the whole people, adapted only to the extreme and rarely occurring case of a struggle on the native soil, with the aid of foreign financial means, for property and all that men hold dear, and to establish it as the ordinary state of the whole population in time of peace and when the exigence is past in which it arose.

The Landwehr system is probably a great mistake in military as well as social policy. Three years' continuous service in the ranks of a regiment may, no doubt, be quite sufficient to form the soldier in all that regards drill, manœuvre, appearance, and what may be called the bodily or physical attainments; but what is of more importance, the *morale* of the soldier, his habits, mind, character, if formed, cannot be kept up in civil life after his three years of service expire. He may go through all his military exercises and duties of his new Landwehr regiment, during the six weeks it is embodied, as well as ever; but the soul and spirit of military life, the tie between soldier and officer, the knowledge of and confidence in each other, the tie of comradeship between soldier and soldier, the ties of attachment to the corps, its character, its honour, its colours, cannot be formed, or kept up if formed, by six weeks' parade and review exercise. The regiments of the line even, by their connexion with the Landwehr as its formation school, must be composed of a shifting soldiery, three-fourths of them

either recruits in their first or second year's service, or men about leaving the regiment for ever, and returning, at the end of their three years of service, to their homes and civil occupations. The officers in such a military body become a distinct class, having no interest in the men of whom they lose sight after three years' service; and their regard and partiality naturally fall on the enlisted soldiers of their regiments, who are always under their command. This disjunction of officers and men into two distinct classes, without accordance or union of feeling between them, appears in some of the transactions at Berlin in the memorable spring of 1848. One instance, having no immediate connexion with the political agitation of the period, shows the unavoidable discordance between the class of officers and the class of privates, in regiments in which the ranks are filled indiscriminately from all classes of the social body. In the German language inferiors, such as servants, common labourers, and common soldiers, are always addressed by the higher classes, such as nobles, officers, men of rank, in the third person singular, *Er*. Equals are addressed in the third person plural, *Sie*. We use the second person plural, *you* to all ranks, and have no such distinctions in our language. *Er* (he), in speaking to a person, denotes a certain difference, a contempt or abasement, implying the superiority of the speaker over the person spoken to. It had long been a cause of irritation between the Landwehr man in the ranks, and the class of officers, that he was addressed with this contemptuous *Er*, although in birth, education, and social position in private life, he often stood far above the person thus addressing him. The discordant feeling between the Landwehr men

and the officers arising from this little circumstance in the usage of language, can only be understood by those who know how liable to take offence the German of the upper class is at any infringement of the respect due to him, and how much indignity may be conveyed by using the third person singular instead of the third plural in the German language. It was during the commotions in Berlin in 1848, that it was found necessary to conciliate the Landwehr by removing this offensive form of address, and by royal edict to order all officers to use the form of *Sie* in speaking to the privates. In such a military body as the Landwehr, with all the people of social importance, property, education, and respectability in the ranks, and the officers, and non-commissioned officers especially, inferior in all those respects to the men they command, the subordination,—the prompt, willing, blind obedience to inferior officers, which is the cement that holds together the units of a military force,—cannot be relied on. It is not in human nature that the man of fortune, social importance, education, the professional man, the merchant, the manufacturer, the tradesman, should look up to as his superior, and implicitly obey, both on parade and in barracks, his corporal, or serjeant, who may have been his own menial servant, journeyman, or labourer; and who, although a good drill officer, may be an indifferent member of civil society. The autocratic government may place men of such incongruous stations and culture in a row, and call them an army, or materials for an army, officers and men, but cannot amalgamate them into an efficient body for ordinary warfare. A war of enthusiasm, indeed, such as that of 1813—14, may fuse such discordant materials into one mass so

long as the heat is kept up. But wars of enthusiasm are among the rarest in history—not half a dozen in Europe since the first crusade. It is discipline, stern discipline, that is alone worth any thing when enthusiasm is wanting; and in the constitution of a Landwehr force the basis on which to build up a true military discipline is wanting. In 1816 the military enthusiasm of the people had evaporated with its cause. Europe was liberated from French oppression, and in peace. France was bridled by the army of occupation. Every country was engaged in the peaceful arrangement of the territories added to it or left to it by the Vienna Congress of 1815; and people began to turn to the realities of civil life, and to look with contempt on the pomp and circumstance of war, in the midst of profound peace. The continuance of the Landwehr system, and the fixing it as a perpetual establishment, became so unpopular, that in August 1817, the Landwehr-men in Silesia refused to be sworn in for service. In the Rhine provinces they would only serve in regiments fixed in their own locality. The government of Prussia appears to have been at this time military mad. It had a standing army of 100,000 men, of which a part, 9 regiments of infantry and 8 regiments of cavalry, were maintained by France, being part of the army of occupation that, by the Peace of Paris, was to remain in, and be supported by France for five years. The rest of this standing army was in Prussia, and was by far too large for the financial means of the country; yet 76 regiments of Landwehr were ordered to be organised and called out, in order to manœuvre with the troops of the line, and establish the system in peace or war. A feud arose and still exists between the troops of the line

and the Landwehr. The former despise the peasants, artisans, and people of all classes, called out to play at soldiers with them in summer encampments for a few weeks; the latter speak of the battles of Dennewitz, Gross-Beeren, the Katsbach, Waterloo, as gained by the Landwehr alone, not by the troops of the line. The discord, also, between the noble and not noble, or *burgerliche* officers, prevails in every regiment. None but the noble born could be officers in the old Prussian service. At the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, Frederick the Great dismissed every officer who could not prove his nobility by birth, whatever his claims were from merit or length of service. In the struggle for Prussian independence in 1813, the government found it necessary to declare that merit should be promoted without regard to birth, but even this concession was limited to the existing war. Many burgerliche, or not noble, fought their way to the rank of officers, but still the spirit of the government is against them, while the spirit of the people attributed all the merit of every action to the burgerliche officers. The number of officers who have risen from the ranks since the peace, is incomparably less than in our own service. The not noble are not indeed expressly excluded as in the old service, but the requirements of education at military academies, and examinations in sciences or acquirements which none but the sons of the upper classes, or of the needy nobility educated at the expense of government, can have any opportunity of attaining, exclude the common soldier from the rank of officer in Prussia as effectually as the requirement of nobility. It is this want of good faith in its measures that makes the Prussian government distrusted and unpopular. It is reckoned

that about one in twenty of the officers of infantry are burgerliche, but although not noble, they are sons of the middle class of citizens of property, who have given them a military education; the cavalry officers are almost all nobles; the artillery, and engineers, and all the corps in which science is required, are officered principally by burgerliche, but few or none have been common soldiers originally raised from the ranks, in any branch of the service. The noble-born officers look down upon the burgerliche officers, who return this disdain with hatred; and the same feeling exists still more strongly between the troops of the line and the Landwehr. This discordance in the army itself, between the aristocratic and the autocratic elements composing it, will account for many apparent inconsistencies in the action both of the government and of the people and troops, in the events of 1848 and 1849. It may be reasonably doubted whether the advantage of drill and military organisation given to the whole population by the Landwehr system, be not greatly overbalanced by the loss of the time and labour of the industrial productive classes, on which alone national wealth and the financial means of the country are founded — by the disgust at military service naturally produced by that loss, and the deficiency of enthusiasm when it is wanted, by this perpetual recurrence of sham warfare at reviews. All the drill and discipline gained by the Landwehr system were given in France as effectually in three months, or even less time, when it was necessary to call out the people to defend the country in 1794, and again in 1814, against foreign invaders. In modern warfare, the preparations for invading a country are so extensive, complicated, and slow, that six months

before an army can march, the world knows what to prepare against, and where to be prepared.

The demoralisation of the youth of a nation by three years' service in the ranks of a regiment of the line, is one of the greatest evils of the system. Soldiers are not necessarily immoral men, but the enlisted soldier engaged for life, or for a long term of years, is generally a man whose character and conduct have ejected him from the ordinary occupations of civil life. His habits of industry and of steady application to the usual business of the middle or the lower classes, are gone. He is demoralised in all that makes the useful, quiet, respectable citizen. He is, too often, a man given to debauchery and excess, when it does not interfere with his military duty; and if he is a clean, smart, well drilled soldier, he is looked up to by his comrades, and, perhaps, the more when, with these professional accomplishments, he sets at defiance the principles and decencies of civil life in his conduct and conversation. Think of a father and mother, in some country village, who have brought up a son in moral and religious habits, in innocence of evil, and in ideas suitable to their station and to the humble trade he is to live by, being compelled to send him for three years, at his outset in life, to join a regiment of the line in a large, dissipated city like Berlin or Cologne, and to associate with such companions. The moral tyranny of the system exceeds what was ever exercised before by any European government, and may well excuse the discontent of the Prussian subjects. To eradicate the sentiment of independence and self-action in the whole population, to keep them always in a semi-military dependence on civil and military function-

aries, as a security to the crown, has evidently been the policy proposed to themselves by the German governments in their civil and military establishments of functionarism and Landwehr. They have overshot the mark. In modern times, it is not merely against foreign aggression that governments, in which the people have no voice or part, must be prepared. The enemy is at home, is the people themselves who, living without self-government, social duty, or free action, although educated and acquainted with the civil and political rights enjoyed by the people of other countries, are more ready to follow the hot-headed enthusiasts who appeal to their grievances and feelings, than to listen to their autocratic rulers and functionaries with whom they have no sympathy. These governments have armed and disciplined the people, have made them equal to the troops of the line in military disregard of bloodshed and tumult, and in the confidence and the means of success in civil war. They have not been trained to regard peace, order, and security, as interests confided to them and in their keeping. The baton of the civil constable is the emblem of the social condition and civilisation of the English people. On the Continent, it is the loaded field-piece, pointed down the streets. By the military training of the people, without giving them civil liberty and political rights, the autocratic governments have disarmed themselves, have lost the preponderance and *prestige* of an irresistible standing army at their command at all times, which was essential to their existence. The Landwehr system, it was boasted, makes the whole nation an army. True. But where is the army that can keep down this army when just complaints of grievous

misgovernment, or the enthusiasm for false objects, to which the German mind is prone, rouse this military mass against their autocratic rulers? It is fortunate for the liberty and civilisation of Europe, that the attempt to turn the whole population of a country into an army, has proved abortive. Military organisation extended beyond a class in the community, carried over the whole population, and making social and civil duties of secondary importance to military service for the support of governments, has ended, as it deserved to end, in making them dangerous subjects, without making them good soldiers. The people trained to be an army, are a people with wrongs to redress, and in a position of disciplined armed antagonism to their autocratic governments. The Landwehr system was in reality a backward step both in policy and in civilisation, replacing society in the nineteenth century on the ground on which it had stood in the middle ages. It is for the common man a return to the leibeigen state. He was not more *adscriptus glebæ* in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, under his feudal baron or superior, than he is in the nineteenth, by the Landwehr system, under his civil and military superiors. His time and labour are taken from him, his trade or means of living broken up by military service, not, as in the feudal ages, for a service of forty days, but for three years together, and for forty days or more every year afterwards, and with the vexatious consideration, that his time and labour are taken from him to be expended in useless parades, reviews, and sham battles, in time of profound peace. And for this end, he cannot go on his own affairs from place to place, he cannot be absent, however urgent his business, from his musters

and drills, in his Landwehr regiment, without leave and passport, and his return made sure to his military and civil superintendents, or he is liable to punishment as a deserter. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when feudal serfage was in most vigour, the serf could at least bargain with his lord, as he can now in Russia, for his exemption from personal service for a time or for perpetuity. In France, he can provide a substitute for his military service, if he is drawn as a conscript. But in Germany, the state functionary is his feudal lord, yet without the power to exempt the serf from his military servitude. The common man cannot remove in search of work, or on his private affairs, from the locality in which he is enrolled without examinations, certificates, passports, and a transfer of his military service still due, to the regiment of his new locality. He is subject to the will and caprice of the civil and military officials who have the charge of such business in the Landwehr system, and who have no interest but to save themselves trouble, and may grant or refuse him the liberty of removing even to the next village. He is literally *adscriptus glebæ*, written down in the muster roll as belonging to the soil, and enjoys less freedom of action, less civil right, and less self-government, than the man of the feudal ages. It is not surprising that an educated people like the Germans, should have made a simultaneous movement in 1848, to throw off such oppressive misgovernment, and this system of functionary and military rule, so unsuitable to the present state of society. It is only surprising that people and even journalists can be found among us, who ascribe the convulsions and tumults which are tearing Germany asunder, to con-

spiracies of socialists, communists, red republicans, and such political bugbears, instead of to the true and obvious cause, the oppression of the people by the Landwehr and functionary system, and the interference with the industry, free action, and civil rights of the individual in a way unknown in other civilised countries, and altogether unsuitable to the spirit of the age. The Landwehr system is the incubus on the prosperity, liberty, and morality of the German people.

The main argument for the continuance of the Landwehr system is, that Germany, with France on one side and Russia on the other, each having an army of half a million of men, is a barrier between the two, preventing the conquest by either of them of all civilised Europe. But such vague and remote political apprehensions of the barely possible in European affairs, do not justify the actual sacrifice of the present well-being of the German people, especially as the very well-being, industry, and prosperity of Germany, sacrificed to this apprehension of the politician, would promote the object of the Landwehr system,—the defence of the country—much more effectually by providing what is quite as necessary as soldiers in warfare,—the financial means to move them. If every generation had its Napoleon, and its English ministry ready to subsidise the German powers with forty-eight millions sterling, to move their Landwehr armies, it would still be an unwise policy to the whole population a standing army at the expense make of the productive industry of the country, which should, in time of peace, be creating the means to support the financial burdens of war. Germany will have to fight her next war of independence at

her own expense. England has been taught wisdom, and has paid dearly for it. German interests would find no support in the public mind. The exclusion of products of English industry from the Continental markets, by the German customs' league, severed any important ties of mutual interests between Germany and England. The ties which connected the sovereign of England with German dominions and interests, are fortunately removed. If France were to advance to the Rhine, the unanimous voice of England would be, "This is no business of ours. The people on the left side of the Rhine know best whether they prefer the French or the Prussian government. It is no interest of ours to uphold the divisions of territory made by the Congress of Vienna, which were unprincipled in themselves, and have been repudiated in turns by all." An advance even of Russia to the Oder or the Elbe, would be received in England with much more apathy than the Germans imagine. The common sense of the English people would say: "If Germany, after a peace of thirty-three years, has not the means—the money as well as the men—to defend herself, she is a country utterly helpless and incapable of maintaining her own independence. We must consider her conquerors as the permanent masters, and trade with them, since trade is naturally our vocation, and probably on no worse terms than with their predecessors." A Landwehr army, without the financial means to move it, is a gun without gunpowder. In the war of 1813, 1814, the zeal and enthusiasm of the people to expel the French, raised a Landwehr or Landsturm army over all Germany, and supported it by English subsidies and by the voluntary contributions of the country, until the army

crossed the Rhine and supported itself at the expense of France. But it is not wise to keep the bow always bent—to keep a people always in the attitude and preparation for defence, which the hour of danger and excitement called forth. It is possible, that after calling Wolf! Wolf! for thirty years, to keep the people on the alert and ready to repel aggression from France or Russia; when the wolf actually does come, the old fable may be realised.

The prejudice in England is against a standing army. It is considered a less constitutional force than a militia or Landwehr. The prejudice is derived probably from the times of Charles I. and Cromwell. The danger of a standing army to a free constitutional state, depends altogether upon the hand into which the weapon is entrusted, and upon the checks and restraints upon any possible abuse of it. Where the parliament holds the purse, as in our constitution, the danger of a military commander, or sovereign, or executive power, using the standing army as a tool for the subversion of liberty, is altogether visionary. We are two centuries past such a possibility. The advantages of a standing army compared to a Landwehr are obvious. The standing army sets free the other classes of society from military services. It is their substitute standing for the nation, as the substitute stands for the individual, and with the same social advantage of allowing the nation as the individual, with perfect safety to the state, to follow the occupations of industry without interruption. Standing armies, instead of the personal military service of all the able-bodied male population, are in fact one of the great steps in the progress of modern civilisation.

The German Landwehr is a backward step; not, as the Germans suppose, a step in advance.

The events of 1848, 1849, afford a striking proof of the demoralising influence of the Landwehr system on the mind and spirit of the German people, in the rabid eagerness with which they have rushed into the unnecessary and unjust war against Denmark. No state necessity existed; no political cause justifies or palliates this resort to arms. Denmark is too feeble to have refused the arbitration of any third power on the claims of Germany to the territory of Schleswig, or to have declined submission to the decision of an arbiter; but the public craving for warfare, right or wrong, raised by the false education of the people in military occupations, compelled the Prussian government into this war. The voice of the youth trained to consider war as the highest destination of man, forced the German sovereigns, perhaps against their own sense of justice and policy, to march an army of 80,000 men to lay waste and conquer a district of about 300,000 inhabitants—a district not so populous or important as the county of Norfolk. The common man may be excused for giving way to this savage ardour for war, which a false education has given him. He rushes with animal ferocity and a rabid joy to the combat, and to the scenes of bloodshed for which he has been in training for the three best years of his youth. But the Germans of the highest class have been demoralised by this false education, and even princes—a prince of Saxe Coburg for instance—gloried in marching at the head of an army of 80,000 men, to ravage and lay waste a little territory scarcely containing so many grown up male inhabitants, and defended by 16,000 or 18,000 Da-

nish soldiers. It is not the well-meaning members of the Peace Congress only, but the loyal and reflecting English gentlemen who must regret to see princes so nearly allied to our royal family lending themselves to this unprincipled and inglorious warfare, and deservedly incurring the reprobation of all right-thinking men in England. They will meet with their desert in the page of history, and in the estimation of their contemporaries. They had not the excuse or justification of the Landwehr men or officers they led, that their position left them no choice but to follow and obey their military commanders. It is some gratification to outraged humanity that these volunteer commanders in this unprincipled warfare — princes so nearly connected with our royal race, that England would have delighted to esteem and honour them — have gathered no laurels in their two inglorious campaigns. Their petty exploits and victories have all the air of defeats; and if victories, yet with such superiority of numbers and means they will only meet the derision of the future historian, as they do now the scorn of the true soldier.

The three new elements which have entered into, and become predominant in, the social system of the Continent since the French revolution, viz. the diffusion of landed property through the social body, functionarism, and the Landwehr institution, have not certainly as yet promoted the well-being, liberty, peace, and good government of the Continental people. They are, it must be confessed, more enslaved by their Landwehr service, their functionary system, and their educational system, than they were in the middle ages under their feudal lords. This is a state of society that cannot last. It is unsuitable to the re-

quirements of the people of the nineteeth century. Fearful convulsions may be expected before the present transition state from feudal to liberal social institutions and character has settled down permanently, and the new elements are cemented together. In the foregoing Notes I have endeavoured to explain the nature and tendencies of these three elements. They are unknown in our social system, and are generally overlooked by our travellers on the Continent; but in them will be found the key to many of the late social convulsions in Germany, and to many future convulsions to which the past are but a feeble prelude. The tendency, at the present day, of these new social elements are to a retrogression of society in civilisation, liberty, well-being, and peace, not to an advance.

From Stockholm to Naples the public buildings in all the cities, and even third-rate towns, through which the traveller may pass, exceed in magnitude, splendour, and taste, the edifices of the same class and for the same purposes in Britain. The palaces, government offices, town-halls or stadthouses, theatres, churches, and all ecclesiastical buildings, and all connected with public business, are on a scale of magnificence unknown to us. The poorest states, Denmark, Sweden, and the petty principalities in Germany, appear to have been the most lavish in this kind of expenditure. Taxes, which abstract from industry its stimulus and reward, have been applied to rearing edifices which, if not useless, are at least unnecessary on such an expensive scale; and the earnings wrung from the people by taxation, should have accumulated into a working capital the want of which is now felt severely in all the social relations of Germany.

The want of a working capital giving employment in every branch of industry, and the want of means to buy and consume what industry produces, are evils which threaten to arrest the progress of society on the Continent to any higher state than it has attained, which even threaten it with a retrograde movement in its material well-being, in proportion to the increase of population, and of which the roots may be traced to the unwise over-taxation and expenditure of the governments. The system still goes on; for the time and labour of the community are directly and heavily taxed by the Landwehr system for the most unreproductive of objects — military reviews and manœuvres — in every part of Germany. A great deal of the public capital has also been sunk all over the Continent in constructing fortifications, or at least walls and ditches, round every little town. Small, indeed, must the place be, that has not its gates and walls as well as its town-house. The traveller in Germany finds out at last, that the two — fortification and taxation — always go together; and that it is not the military importance of those little towns, either in past or present times, that has raised them to the dignity of walls and gates, but the municipal importance of these defences against the introduction, clandestinely, of articles subject to the town taxes. The traveller, amidst all the expenditure on magnificent public buildings, and the town mansions or hotels of the class no longer opulent, the nobles, misses on the roads of France and Germany the country seat in the midst of its park, adorned with old trees and a piece of water, and with its gardens, its closely shaven lawn, smooth gravel walks, and long avenue through lofty elms, and its elegant en-

trance-gate and cottage-lodges at the side of the turnpike-road, and all so neatly kept and trim, that going into the grounds is like going into a drawing-room. Such an establishment as an English country gentleman's seat is scarcely to be seen on the Continent. It is the exponent of a peculiar social state and character. The taste and talent of an artist may rear Italian or Gothic edifices in a country, but it requires a combination of congenial tastes and characters in every station, from the squire's to the stable-boy's, and the labourer's who sweeps the lawn, to keep all that belongs to that peculiarly English feature of England, the country gentleman's residence, in all its neatness and beauty.

A great proportion of the walls, ditches, fortifications, and public buildings of the Continental towns, are constructed by penal labour. Offenders are condemned to work on these public edifices and fortifications, and there is no other way of disposing of them. It is surprising that our government has not adopted, to a greater extent, the same means of employing convict labour at home, instead of an expensive transportation to Gibraltar, Bermuda, or Australia, and the application of convict labour in the same way in those colonies. We have not at home any strong, regularly fortified place to which the sovereign could retire in the event of invasion from abroad or tumults at home. There are many military points which, however unlikely it may be that such events as the invasion of the country by an enemy, or rebellion and organised tumult of our own population, should ever take place, ought not to be left unguarded and unprepared for defence. The 336 fortresses or garrisoned towns in the Prussian dominions, may be an unneces-

sary extension of the system; and in the war against Napoleon which preceded the Peace of Tilsit, were a main cause of the rapid success of the French arms in that campaign. The Prussian army was frittered down into isolated garrisons too weak to defend their posts, or to arrest the advance of the enemy. But thirty or forty places of strength in this country, commanding the access to our main railways and roads, would neither be ridiculously unnecessary nor costly. We have, unhappily, too much of convict labour to apply to such constructions, we have officers of skill and science to construct them, we have property to defend, and every rational motive to retard any hostile movement, either by a foreign or domestic foe, in the land, and we have scarcely a strong place in the kingdom that could hold out for ten days against an enemy. The constitutional objection to strongholds in the hands of the executive power belongs to the age of King Stephen, not to our times; or to the policy of Louis Philippe, not to our constitutional monarchy.

Transportation must be less efficacious as a punishment for deterring from crime, and amending the criminal, than hard labour in chains on public works. The infliction of the latter punishment follows the conviction at once, and in its full severity. The delay, the change of scene, the voyage, the excitement, weaken the effects of transportation. The public see nothing of the infliction, will scarcely believe in its severity and impartiality, and lose the example of retribution overtaking guilt displayed before their eyes. To withdraw the criminal under punishment from the public view is grateful, no doubt, to his feelings and to the feelings of the public; but

the benefit of deterring others from similar crimes is lost. Transportation for life may possibly be as severe a punishment as death itself; but will the rude and blunted feelings of the criminal class in the social body, and of those verging towards crime, ever be brought to consider it equally dreadful to be transported as to be hanged?

Many pious and humane persons, in England, are very desirous that the punishment of death should be entirely abolished; and meetings, committees, resolutions, speeches, and petitions to parliament in favour of such a change in our penal code, are not wanting. Yet this subject is not investigated so profoundly as the public are entitled to expect from the able and religious men who lead the agitation. If we look at the punishment inflicted on the guilty by the penal laws of all ages and countries, we find in it three distinct elements. One is the expiation of the crime by the punishment. This is the oldest and most universal of all the principles of punishment, and in it only is the punishment of death necessarily involved. The second element in punishment is the protection of society from the same or similar offences by the punishment of the offenders promptly, severely, but judicially and justly. This principle of punishment belongs to a considerably advanced state of civilisation, and does by no means infer, necessarily, the punishment of death for crime. Other means to deter from crime, and all the means of prevention by moral and religious education, temperance, and domestic habits, remove certainly the necessity of resorting to the punishment of death for the protection of society. The third element in punishment is the amendment of the offender. This is altogether

a modern principle in penal infliction; and, although very generally attempted, it is practically rather a pious intent than a realised effect. It excludes, of course, the punishment of death. Now, of these three elements involved in all punishment, the first, the expiation of guilt by punishment, is the great difficulty to be dealt with in the abolition of capital punishment for great crimes. But for this element in penal infliction, the punishment of death might perhaps be safely abolished among an educated, moral, and religious people. Then why not throw it out altogether, as an element in the punishments enacted in the penal code of an enlightened community? Do the humane and Christian men, clergy and laity, who adopt and urge these views on the legislature in meetings and petitions for the abolition of capital punishment, know exactly their own meaning? Do they consider that, if they abolish the expiatory element in punishment for guilt and sin, they abolish the very basis on which Christianity is founded? Is it not the expiation made for sin by our Saviour in his physical sufferings on the cross, and the probably still greater moral sufferings in the agony in the garden of Gethsemane preceding the crucifixion, the equivalent to the remorse and penitence which, together with the physical suffering, make up the expiatory sacrifice, which are the very foundations of their hopes of salvation? Abolish the principle of expiation by punishment, and you abolish the atonement by our Saviour. It is very cruel to put a malefactor to death, even for crimes of the deepest dye. So it is. It is not only cruel, but, as in the case of the Mannings executed lately for a foul murder, it is altogether inoperative as a means of deterring from

crime; and, as an eminent writer forcibly described it, the execution was rather a show, an excitement, even a merry meeting, to the profligate and criminal population, who sat up all night to witness it. This is all very true, but still the question remains. Is punishment, that is to say, physical suffering for guilt and sin, expiatory in its nature, or not? If not, then away with Christianity, for the Christian religion rests on nothing else. If it be, then away with the false and maudlin humanity that would sacrifice the principle of the Christian religion to tenderness of feeling for a murderer. The expiation of guilt by punishment is not a principle derived or deduced by reasoning from the atonement by our Saviour's death on the cross, and innoculated into society and the public mind in the middle ages by Christianity and the clergy. It is a principle much more ancient than the Christian religion itself. It prevailed, and prevails now, among nations who never heard of Christianity. It is, in fact, one of the great proofs of the truth of the Christian doctrine to every reflecting mind, that it is founded on a principle of atonement, the same principle on which our Saviour died for man, acknowledged in every human breast and in every stage of human existence, however rude. Next to the universality of the idea of a Supreme Being is the universality of the idea of atonement. In the most ancient codes of law, among the unchristianised Gothic and Scandinavian tribes, we find no other element but atonement in punishment. In that rude state of society in which every man protected his own head with his own hand, revenge or pecuniary compensation to the parties injured by the crime were expiatory. If the family was satisfied for the slaughter

of a relative, and the state or king for the loss of a man, by a fine proportioned to the rank and station of the victim, divided between the family and the state, murder and every crime could be atoned for according to a tariff. If we look at the influence of Christianity as a social institution only, and apart from its religious value, we find that its greatest and most civilising influence has been the taking of expiatory punishment out of the hands of the private avenger, or of the cupidity or arbitrary will of the sovereign, and lodging it in fixed law and religious principle. If the humane and pious men who would abolish by act of parliament the expiatory element in punishment, are consequent in their reasoning, they must frame the preamble of their act for the abolition of the punishment of death in all cases, in terms equivalent to these:—"Whereas, it is expedient to abolish the punishment of death as unnecessary for the protection of society, inoperative for the prevention of crime or the amendment of criminals, and contrary to the feelings of the humane and pious; and whereas, the said infliction of capital punishment rests solely on certain doctrines of atonement contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and on no social or moral grounds of necessity or utility; be it therefore enacted, that the said punishment of death and the doctrine of atonement, as taught by the Christian religion, upon which alone it is founded, shall cease and be abolished from and after the passing of this act."

In legislation, as in private conduct, the great difficulty of reform is to prune away abuses without cutting down principles. The abuses in our old penal code, when stealing a sheep on the common, or

a web of cloth in a bleach-field, or forging a country banker's one pound note, were crimes punished by death, although manifestly it was the duty of the farmer or manufacturer to watch his property so that it could not be stolen, and of the banker to print his notes with such marks that they could not be forged, raised justly in all humane minds a storm of indignation against such judicial murders; and although these abuses have been rectified, the movement has not yet subsided. The abolition of capital punishment in all cases is called for, although cases occur almost daily, in which, if the protection of society or the prevention of similar crimes were the only principles on which punishment ought to be awarded, the more atrocious the crime the fewer would be the imitators of the criminal, and the more entitled would the criminal be to escape from all punishment not directly connected with his personal reformation. If society could not suffer by his impunity, owing to the singular wickedness of his deeds repelling all imitation, on what principle can he be punished at all? It is very possible, that among the two millions of people in London and its environs, no two persons, husband and wife, could be found who would be capable of premeditating and preparing a murder so deliberately, and perpetrating the crime so coolly and firmly as Mrs. Manning and her husband did, in the murder of their victim. Then why put them to death for a crime which, from its very atrocity, could have so few imitators to be deterred from a similar crime by the example of their punishment? Clearly because there was a higher principle involved than that of the mere police consideration of the protection of society, the prevention of crime, or the amendment

of the malefactor. There was the atonement to be made for guilt. This principle of expiation by suffering, is admitted and acted upon in all punishments for minor offences, in which imprisonment, hard labour, or transportation for a term of years more or less protracted, are adjudged as expiatory punishments according to the degree of criminality. The offender returns to society after his atonement by punishment for his offence. It would not be very consistent legislation, that the lighter offenders should be punished most heavily, and the heaviest offenders most lightly. This would evidently be the case, if atonement by the severest of punishments for the most atrocious of crimes, were expunged from our criminal code, and atonement by punishment were retained for the lesser delinquencies.

There seems to be no such feeling in the breast of the Continental man, be he Gentile or Jew, as that which prevents an honest tradesman in England from asking more for his goods than he intends to take. A shopkeeper with us, even in the lowest class, would feel it to be a degradation of himself to ask more at first than the just price, and his customer would feel it was a gratuitous insult, an implied doubt of the man's veracity and honesty, if he were to beat down the demand and offer less. On the Continent the most respectable man in trade will begin with asking a price one half higher than he will be content to take, and will tell half-a-dozen falsehoods to make you believe that the price he asks is fair and moderate. It betokens no very high moral tone of mind in the society—in the sellers and in the buyers—where this custom is universal. It is but a custom, people say; and when you know the custom, it is your own

fault and folly if you are cheated and give the price asked at first. True; but still the custom is not an honest custom. It betokens want of self-respect in the seller, want of moral respect in the buyer for the man standing before him, and a want of confidence between man and man in the ordinary transactions of life; and all these are indications of a low social character. The English are a nation of shopkeepers; but these shopkeepers are gentlemen in their feelings of self-respect, and of honourable dealing with their customers, compared to the same class in the countries claiming a higher education and more chivalrous spirit. In Paris, and a few other cities of the Continent, the shopkeepers begin now to place in their windows the announcement that they sell *au prix fixe*, and to do homage to the principle of fair dealing so universally acted upon for generations in England. It is not the dealer alone who is to be blamed for having two prices for his goods, but his customers, the public. They have not the confidence which honest men have in honest men in our social state, and will attempt to beat down the dealer's prices, and offer him less, even when they know the prices asked are fair and reasonable. This custom is but a trivial thing to notice; yet, considered in its true light, it indicates more than any other the inferiority of the social character, and of the moral tone of the middle and lower classes of society on the Continent, compared to that of the same classes in England. The self-respect, the sentiment of individual worth, the mutual confidence between man and man in the fair dealing and integrity of each other, which are both the effects and causes of a sound moral feeling in society, and of a high social character adapted to in-

dependent action, are wanting, and these form the basis of civil liberty and constitutional government. The moral condition and political constitution of a people are closely united. The Continental people may give themselves the English forms of government, a representation of the people in a legislative assembly, trial by jury, a *habeas corpus* act, and freedom of the press; but they will still retain the character which ages of a feudal structure of society, followed by generations bred under modern military government, and superintendence over private business and all civil affairs, have formed in the individuals. Their political institutions will not be the natural result of their spirit, character, and moral and social state. It will be the show, not the reality, of liberty they have attained; for they are not prepared for self-government, independent action, and civil freedom. The mere imitation of the external forms and institutions of a free constitution, will not make a free people of men not bred and trained individually by the social circumstances in which they have lived, to self-guidance, independence of character and action, and to self-respect. The English constitution rests upon the English character, and that character has been prepared for ages. The imitation constitutions in France and Germany are but things on paper, philosophical schemes and speculations acted, as on a theatre, without reality; and are not the natural results of a moral and social state actually existing, and requiring such institutions. The new governments on the liberal principle have to form a character in the people to support them and work them, and are not called into existence and formed by a social character and spirit previously existing.

A history of liberty, or of liberal constitutions, would be a curious display of the inconsistencies of human nature. Roman, American, and West India liberty always held, as an element in the social structure of a free people, a large proportion of the human beings, under its institutions as slaves. In France, Switzerland, Belgium, and the constitutional states in Germany, people call themselves free, because they enjoy more or less of the forms of a representative government, and have more or less political liberty; but they have no more civil liberty, and no more sense or feeling for it, than when they had no constitutions at all. They live, act, and have their being under a system of interference in every man's movements and doings, precisely as in Austria, Prussia, and the states without any constitutions or political liberty. The people of the Continent are like a tamed animal, incapable of living in a free state, or of acting for itself, and returning to its coop and its keeper, because it can do nothing for itself in freedom, and is insensible of the trammels and bondage it is used to. Give the Continental man, even of the most enlightened class, political liberty, that is, a legislative assembly in which he and his fellow-citizens are fairly represented, and may freely harangue; give him freedom of the press, freedom of discussion, freedom to talk politics in his club or coffee-room, and to belong to a party for or against the ministers and their measures, and he has all he wants, desires, or knows of freedom, and he sits down perfectly satisfied that he is free. Yet he cannot go to the next town on business or pleasure without a passport, cannot remove his domicile without leave, cannot apply his labour, skill, and capital in any way without per-

mission, regulation, and superintendence; and these restrictions on the civil liberty of the individual are the same in France, Belgium, Bavaria with representative legislatures, as in Austria, Prussia, or Denmark without any. The show and forms of political liberty are all the Continental man means, in all his enthusiasm for freedom and free institutions. The reality of civil liberty in the free use of time, industry, and capital, and in the free action of the individual, is unknown to him. It is amusing to hear a German or a Frenchman discussing constitutional forms of government, universal suffrage, the qualifications of representatives, the equal rights of citizens; and when he has settled all these points to his satisfaction, in a theory that proves very clearly we enjoy no real liberty in England, and do not understand its first principles, to ask him to take a jaunt with you to Tours or Marseilles, or to Cologne or Leipsic. "Oh!" says he, "I must run to the *bureau* for our passports. I must get them signed by the proper authorities, countersigned by other proper authorities, viséed by the proper authorities in every town we stop at on our journey, to prevent trouble with the police; and I must get this done before the *bureaux* are shut for the day, or we may have to wait till next day." To be free and independent in the sense that the common man in England is free and independent, seems not to be a want in the mind of the Continental man even of fortune and education. The English traveller in France or Germany, who has gone himself to the Hotel de Ville or the Passport Office, to have his passport viséed and signed, instead of leaving it to the *valet de place*, or the master of the hotel, and who has seen the crowd of tradesmen, country dealers,

travelling artisans, and peasants from the neighbouring villages, who have been at the fair, standing for hours to have their papers examined and signed, will return with a pretty distinct idea of the difference between political and civil freedom—between show and reality—between the mind, spirit, character, and social state of the English and of the Continental people. Machiavel says somewhere in his works:—"To endeavour to make a people free who are servile in their nature, is as hopeless as to attempt to reduce to slavery a nation imbued with the spirit of freedom." This is a great truth in social economy, confirmed by the issue of every revolution or attempt in this century, to make the French, the German, or the Italian people free. The forms of a free constitution are attained for a short time; but the servile nature remains, the servile institutions, the restraints on personal liberty, industry, and action remain, and are not felt to be bondage. Such a people cannot be free, even with freedom pressed upon them.

CHAP. XII.

NOTES ON THE TOWN AND COUNTRY POPULATIONS ABROAD AND IN ENGLAND. — ON THE VICE AND PROFLIGACY OF LONDON COMPARED TO OTHER CAPITALS. — PROSTITUTION IN LONDON — IN PARIS. — MORAL CONDITION OF THE LONDON POPULATION. — HABITS, CHARACTER, AND SOCIAL STATE OF THE ENGLISH AND SCOTCH COMPARED. — MORAL TIE IN ENGLAND BETWEEN LANDLORD AND TENANT. — ON THE COMPARATIVE WELL-BEING OF THE WORKING MAN ON THE CONTINENT AND IN ENGLAND. — ON THE BURDENS ON THE CONTINENTAL WORKING MAN. — MILITARY SERVICE. — DIRECT TAXES. — KOPFSTEUER OR POLL TAX. — GEWERBSTEUER OR TRADE TAX. — CLASS-TAX IN PRUSSIA, HANOVER, ETC. — DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXES COMPARED. — INJUSTICE OF DIRECT TAXATION AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR DIRECT TAXES. — HIGHER WELL-BEING OF THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASS. — ADVANTAGE OF THE CONTINENTAL WORKING CLASS IN THE EASIER ACQUISITION OF LAND.

THE main use of travelling abroad is to form just ideas of what is around us at home. The traveller should be a man of comparisons, measuring, weighing, and correcting his old ideas by his new. He is not straying beyond his proper vocation and business when he states his old impressions, and his new, of the social condition of people at home compared with people or classes in similar situations abroad.

Every traveller on the Continent must have observed, that the town and city populations live much more apart and separate from the country population than with us. Each city or town is like a distinct island, or small nation, with its own way of living, ideas, laws, and interests, and having little or nothing in common with the country population around it.

The ancient municipal governments of the towns, with their exclusive privileges, their incorporations, and town-taxes on all articles brought to market, and levied at the town-gates in a rough vexatious way, keep alive a spirit of hostility rather than of friendly intercourse between town and country. Some of these grievances exist where the traveller least expects to find them. In constitutional France, in constitutional Belgium, and even in the city of Frankfort, where a model constitution of civil and political liberty was being manufactured by all the philosophy of Germany in a constituent assembly, the country-girl's basket is opened at the town-gate, to see if it contain any bread, cheese, beer, or other articles subject to town-dues. The peasant's cart, loaded with hay or straw, is half unloaded, or is probed with a long rod of iron by the city official, to discover goods which ought to have paid town dues. The kind of domestic smuggling into and out of the Continental cities, which this system of town dues gives rise to, is of a very demoralising influence. These restrictions and town dues raise a spirit of antagonism, not of union, between the two populations. The towns and cities, in consequence of this estrangement, have less influence on the civilisation of the country, on the manners, ideas, and condition of the mass of the population, than with us. Our town or city populations form no mass so distinct in privileges, intelligence, and interests from the rest of the community, as the town populations are abroad. The city on the Continent sits like a guard-ship riding at anchor on the plain, keeping up a kind of social existence of her own, shutting her gates at sunset, and having privileges and exactions which separate her from the main

body of the population. In Germany and France, the movements and agitations of 1848 were entirely among the town populations. The country population has not advanced either towards good or evil with the progress of the cities. In Hamburgh, Berlin, Munich, Dresden, Frankfort, and other great cities, taste, literature, refinement, wealth, or the pleasures and enjoyments proper to wealth, abound; but in the country outside of these oases of civilisation, the people are in the same condition in which they have been for ages. The town civilisation has not acted upon them as it has on the general population of England. The people of the Continent have more coffee, sugar, tobacco, and music, and more school and drill than their forefathers; but not more civil liberty or freedom of action, not more independence of mind, nor a higher moral, religious, and intellectual character. This isolation of the towns has had a very prejudicial effect both on the town and country populations. It has kept the latter almost stationary, while the former has been advancing out of all proportion to the great body, or to the means, intelligence, or requirements of the state or the people. This has divided the people of Germany into two distinct divisions: the great mass of the population, living by husbandry, and altogether unprepared for self-government or civil or political liberty; and an educated, or half-educated, idle, and debauched city population, half crazed with theories and dreams of an unattainable perfection of society.

The traveller who compares the condition and spirit of the Continental and English populations, must begin with correcting his old impressions of the

great leviathan of London, the concentrated exhibition of all that is good and evil in modern society.

We hear much of the vice and profligacy of London, and the theme is not altogether new. *Nemo in ea sine crimine vivit*, said Richard of Devizes concerning London in the twelfth century. It is a standing-dish, like muffins and buttered toast, at the tea-table of every spinster who sits down with the curate and five serious ladies of fifty, to deplore the adulteration of Bohea and the moral depravity of mankind. The truth is, that the clergyman in his parish, the magistrate in his district, the overseer, constable, or police officer in his ward or walk, has an official propensity to describe his own circle of duty and action as among people the most vicious, depraved, and turbulent within the bills of mortality, the most difficult to be kept in order, sunk in ignorance, vice, and misery, every street teeming with thieves and abandoned women, and society only held together by his own unseen and not sufficiently appreciated wisdom and exertions. The statistical writer, too, and the legislator in small, are nothing loath to give the interest of enormity and magnitude to their statements of the vice and profligacy of the lower orders in London; and some of them lay it pretty thick on the public credulity. About forty years ago, Colquhoun, a police magistrate, gravely estimated the number of females in London living by prostitution at 50,000; and, in 1834, Villeneuf de Bargemont estimates the number at 80,000. But in a population of a million, at which number we may reckon all the London population that can, from local situation and circumstances, be at all within the walk or range of the existence of prostitution, the number of the female sex who have com-

pleted their sixteenth year, but not their forty-fifth (and from sixteen to forty-five years of age are surely the usual limits of this wretched state) would be, according to Hoffman's calculations, 211,601 persons. Of these, according to the estimates of the same statistical writer, more than one-half (about five-ninths) are married women, and therefore, notwithstanding exceptional cases, may, in a general view, be taken out of the number of females living by prostitution, or belonging to the class of public prostitutes. Taking the unmarried females at one-half of all between the ages of sixteen and forty-five years, we have 105,800 females; and from this number the aged, the infants, the sick, the lame, the decrepit, the ugly, the ill-favoured, the rich, the well-off, all above destitution, and the virtuous, must be deducted, before we get at the approximate number who may be by possibility, or at least are not prevented by physical or moral circumstances from, earning their living by prostitution. What proportion shall we allow for age, infancy, sickness, bodily defects, and all other physical hinderances to earning a living as prostitutes? Not less surely than one third, or 35,266 females; thus leaving in a million of people only 70,534 females unmarried, and of the age, health, and appearance that they could lead the life of prostitutes, and without making any deduction for the restraints of moral and religious principle, or for the social rank, station, affluence, or honest means of living of the 70,534 females. Yet one statistical police writer would cram us with the estimate of 50,000 prostitutes out of 70,500 females; and another would have every one of them, and 10,000 more, to be living by prostitution! They could not live by prostitution in that proportion to the whole

male population in a million of people, even if they would. These are but exaggerations of police officers and statistical writers, which refute themselves by their extravagance. They tell us of 40,000 pick-pockets, thieves, and vagabonds always prowling about in our metropolis; of 40,000 rogues who do not know when they rise in the morning where they shall lie down at night; of gangs of housebreakers and robbers enough to sack the city of London. They tell us, in short, of a state of society in London such that society could not exist if one half of their statements were true.

If we stick one prong of a gigantic carving-fork through the dome of St. Paul's—it may be done in imagination, or still better on the half-crown map of London and its environs—and describe a circle with the other prong, at the distance of twenty miles or so from this centre, we find the inhabitants within this circle constitute, in our railway and omnibus age, the London nation, the people who live, move, and have their daily being in the streets of London. The population of this kingdom of Cockneyland exceeds that of Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Hanover, Saxony, or Würtemberg; and its wealth would buy all the property of half a dozen of these small kingdoms. Now, where 3,000,000 of people, the least number we can reckon within this circle (London and Westminster containing 2,200,000 in 1849, according to official estimates), and a vast proportion of the total wealth of the whole human-race are concentrated, together with all the gratifications which wealth can purchase, within a circle round St. Paul's of twenty miles of radius, luxury, extravagance, dissipation, self-indulgence, and also the progeny of

these, poverty, vice, misery, must exist close together, and in very imposing masses; so imposing from their magnitude that we are very apt to mistake a part for the whole, to pronounce all London one scene of profligacy and misery, or perhaps one scene of boundless wealth, generosity, and public spirit, according to the sample of it we have seen. If we take any one of the exaggerations of London profligacy, for instance prostitution, which is the most common and most exaggerated, and examine its proportion to the population, and to the circumstances of the population, all the huge dimensions even of this social evil shrink into the ordinary size in which it exists in other communities. It looks large in London; because it is concentrated and under the eye in one city, and in a few main streets of it. In the most virtuous town-populations under the most favourable circumstances—that is, where the population is so small that each individual is known, and his or her conduct and character are under the restraint of remark and observation, as well as under moral and religious restraint—the average number of the unfortunate women of this class will certainly not exceed the proportion of one in a thousand of the total population. This average would give about 3000 as the number of females living by prostitution in the 3,000,000 of people within a circle of twenty miles round St. Paul's. If we consider the peculiar circumstances of this population, the greater proportion individually strangers to their next neighbours, living in an afflux of strangers, and being unknown and unobserved, under none of the secondary restraints on conduct, but left entirely to the moral and religious restraints within themselves, it would not

be an indication of a proportionally greater depravity of the fixed inhabitants of London, if the proportion of prostitution were double of that among a population of the same numbers scattered in small towns, in which every individual has a check upon immoral conduct in the good or bad opinion of his neighbours, as well as in moral and religious restraint. But no man acquainted with London would estimate the total number of unfortunate women living by prostitution so high as 6000. A few leading streets and places of public resort appear filled with them, but a small number of people, for instance 4000 or 5000 policemen or soldiers, appears great when confined, as these unfortunate females are by their vocation, to a few crowded localities. The state of Paris in regard to prostitution bears out this view of the state of London. The population of Paris is certainly not more chaste, more domestic in habits, more under religious and moral influences, more virtuous, and less addicted to sensual gratification, than the London population. Different estimates had been given of the number of prostitutes in Paris, varying from 30,000 to 60,000, according to the imagination of the statistical writer. But at last Parent du Chatelet, in his work "De la Prostitution," showed from the registers of the police —the unfortunate women of this class in Paris are all registered, licensed, and under police protection, and none can remain, or have any motive to remain, unregistered—that in the four years, from 1816 to 1820—a period in which Paris was crowded with strangers and military from every part of Europe—the number never exceeded 2500; and in the years from 1830 to 1832 never exceeded 3500. It is probable that in London, Glasgow, Paris, Berlin, Vienna,

and all great cities at home and abroad, the amount of this kind of profligacy and misery is very much the same in the same periods, and is very much less than statistical prosers and benevolent society orators represent it to be. The vice and ignorance of the vast London population is a fine subject for platform eloquence; for whatever vice and ignorance there may be, it lies all in a heap before the eyes of the auditors, quite handy to the orator to point to it; and is not scattered about in 500 towns, as it would be in a kingdom of the same population.

To me the London nation appears remarkably distinguished for their strong moral sense and their acute quick intelligence. In these no people in the most-educated, virtuous, or simple countries or districts, at home or abroad, can be compared to the Londoners. It stands to reason that this should be their character. They are a people living in the midst of temptation and opportunity, and therefore necessarily in the perpetual exercise, daily and hourly, of self-restraint and moral principle; living in the midst of the keenest competition in every trade and branch of industry, and therefore necessarily in the perpetual exercise of ingenuity and mental power in every work and calling. The needy starving man in this population exerts every day, in walking through the streets of London, more practical virtue, more self-restraint and active virtuous principle, in withstanding temptation to dishonest immoral means of relieving his pressing want, and he struggles against and overcomes more of the vicious propensities of our nature, than the poor, or rich, or middle class man in a country population or small town population, has occasion to exercise in the course of a whole lifetime.

Man must live among men, and not in a state of isolation, to live in the highest moral condition of man. The London population may be far enough from this highest moral condition; but they are individually and practically educated by the circumstances in which they live, into high moral habits of honesty and self-restraint. Look at the exposure of property in London, and at the small amount of depredation in proportion to the vast amount of articles exposed to depredation in every street, lane, and shop; and consider the total inadequacy of any police force, however numerous—and in all London the police force does not exceed five thousand persons—or of any vigilance on the part of the owners themselves, however strict, to guard this property, if it were not guarded by the general, habitual, thorough honesty of the population itself. Look at the temptations to inebriety, and the small proportion of the people totally abandoned to habitual drunkenness, or even to the hourly dram-drinking of Scotch people, or the *Schnaps* of the lower classes in Germany. Virtue is not the child of the desert or of the school-room, but of the dense assemblages of mankind in which its social influences are called into action and into practical exertion every hour. The urchin on the pavement dancing Jim Crow for a chance halfpenny, and resisting in all his hunger the temptation of snatching the apple or the cake from the old woman's open stall or the pastry-cook's window, is morally no uneducated being. His sense of right, his self-restraint, his moral education, are as truly and highly cultivated as in the son of the bishop who is declaiming at Exeter Hall about this poor boy's ignorance and vice, and whose son never knew in his position what it is to resist pressing

temptation, secret opportunity, and the urgent call of hunger. Practical moral education, a religious regard for what belongs to others, the doing as you would be done by, the neighbourly sympathy with and help of real distress, and the generous glow at what is manly, bold, and right in common life, and the indignation at what is wrong, or base, are in more full development among the labouring class in London, than among the same class elsewhere, either at home or abroad. They put more of the fair-play feeling in their doings. The exceptions to this character; the vice, immorality, blackguardism, brutality, of a comparatively small number—and many of these not born and bred in the lowest ranks, but in much higher positions from which they have sunk, besmeared with the vice, immorality, and dishonesty which caused their fall—cannot be justly taken as a measure of the moral condition of the lower or labouring classes in London. The genuine Cockneys are a good-natured hearty set of men; their mobs are full of sport and rough play; and the ferocious spirit of mischief, wickedness, and bloodshed rarely predominates. Considering their great temptations and opportunities, and the inadequacy of any social arrangements or military or police force that we possess to oppose them, if a majority were inclined to active deeds of mischief, the London population may claim the highest place among the town populations of Europe, for a spirit of self-restraint on vicious propensities, and for a practical moral education in the right and reasonable. The tumults in 1848, in Paris, Vienna, Dresden, Berlin, entitle the London mobs to the praise of being neither blood-thirsty, nor insensible to the rights of property, compared to the furious half-military mobs of those

cities. Compared even to the better-educated, or rather better-schooled, people of Scotland, the more practical, although more ignorant, Londoners stand high in the moral scale. It is an axiom in the law of nature and nations in Scotland, that "whate'er is Scotch is best." One is never allowed to forget this in Scotland or to remember it elsewhere. Scotch farming, Scotch land-letting, Scotch philosophy, law, divinity, morality, and education, are all of the best. Yet one may be allowed, out of Scotland, to doubt if this superiority be supported by statistical facts. In 1841, the population of Scotland, 2,620,000 persons, consumed 5,595,000 gallons of spirits. The population of England, 14,995,000 persons, or nearly six times the number of the Scotch population, consumed only 7,956,000 gallons of spirits, or about one-third more; and the Irish population, 8,175,000 persons, consumed only 5,200,000 gallons in the same year, being less than the consumption of the 2½ millions of the Scotch population. Unless whisky-drinking be a virtue north of the Tweed, it is difficult to make out the assumption of superior morality for the people of Scotland. If the traveller compare the indications of civilisation in the middle and lower classes of the English and Scotch, he will find himself obliged to confess that there is a deficiency north of the Tweed, especially among the female half of the community, on whom civilisation mainly depends, in those smaller usages, habits, and ways of living, which add to the comfort and well-being of common civilised life. There is a sluttishness about the womankind and all the women's work in a Scotch dwelling of the lower or even of the middle-class family,—a dirty contentedness of husband and wife with any discomfort or

nuisance of use and wont, — which stands remarkably in contrast with the order, regularity, tidiness, and cleaning, dusting, and scouring propensities of the housewives of the same classes in any English town or village. The Scotch people of the middle and lower classes may have more and better school instruction, are more religious, and more intellectual in their religion, more frugal and prudent, except in the use of spirituous liquors; but the English of the same classes live in a more civilised way, are of more refined and civilised habits, are better brought up, although worse educated. Their manners towards each other, their habits of regard for others, and their self-respect, and the regularity, nicety, and spirit of order in their households which proceed from self-respect, are more cultivated. The English females of those classes are brought up in their little brick tenements to keep a cleaner and more cheerful house and a more regular housekeeping, on earnings as small as the means of the same class of labourers and tradesmen in Scotland. The table and table-cloth, the plate, and knife and fork, are laid out with decent regularity and cleanliness even in the poorest dwelling of the working man, should it only be to grace a dinner of bread and cheese. What a routing, and driving, and bawling, and scolding, all the morning, in a "sma' Scotch family that keeps but one bare-legged servant lassie," before things are got into any decent order! In England, in a small tradesman's or working man's family, you wonder how the housework of the female, the sweeping, cleaning, bed-making, cooking, and such work, is done so quietly and so nicely, with only the wife's pair of hands. All

is in order, as if the fairy folk had been helping all night with the scouring and rubbing.

The English houses no doubt, the small brick tenements, are more handy, more convenient for saving work, and better provided with partitions within and yards and offices without, than the stone or turf-built Scotch cottage, all of one room under an unlined slate or straw roof, without divisions inside, or the most needful accommodation for a cleanly people outside. But the females themselves are more nice in their nature, more regular in their ways, better trained in doing things in their proper times, and putting things in their proper places, are better educated, in short, in their habits, than our Scotch females of the same class. One woman does the work of two in a house, when she can lay her hand on what she wants in an instant; and the two have to seek half the day for what they were using the day before. But how comes it that the female half of the English people of the middle and lower ranks have this better education in habits of order, cleanliness, and civilised household life, than the much better school-taught people of the same classes in Scotland? It seems to be, that education, in its ordinary meaning of the acquisition of knowledge, or of the powers and faculty of acquiring knowledge, has much less to do than we generally suppose in this age of the schoolmaster, with civilisation in its true meaning of high social well-being arising from good government, free institutions, civil liberty, and in morals, manners, and household life, and in all public and private life, from a strong feeling in all classes of what is due to others as well as to ourselves. In these main requirements of true civilisation, the school-educated have no decided ad-

vantage over the world-educated; over those who have acquired their knowledge, judgment, tastes, habits, by experience and their own reflection and their own common sense. The Scotch, French, and German people, with all the advantages of a much higher and more generally diffused school-education, are at any rate much less civilised, possess fewer of those requirements of a high social state, less of that refinement, order, and cleanliness, in the habits of domestic household life, which belong to material civilisation, than the more ignorant English. The reason may be that society in England never was so strictly feudalised as on the Continent and in Scotland. The classes of society have always borrowed more from each other, and do so at this day, than in other countries. The interests, tastes, habits, ways of living, and even sports and amusements, are more nearly alike in the higher and lower classes in England, and pass into each other more easily, from no feudal privileges or prerogatives keeping the classes distinct. The day-labourer chipping stones on the roadside, is as knowing and eager as the squire of the parish, about the last fox-chase, or the next horse-race. All ranks, in town or village, are on tiptoe about the Derby and St. Leger. The English gentry also have in all times resided more on their estates, or in country houses and villages, than the Continental or Scotch; and have been more addicted to field-sports, to hunting, riding, horse-races, cricket-matches, and keeping horses, dogs, boats; and such pastimes necessarily bring the lower classes, who administer to, and partake in, those amusements, into daily intercourse and common habits and feelings with the higher. The clergy in England also, being generally connected

with the families of the highest classes, bring with them into their parishes the social improvement of greater refinement of habits and ways of living, and of a diffusion through the social body of a higher standard of, and common feeling for, nicety, cleanliness, and comfort. In Scotland nothing is of common interest to poor and rich. No object, no pursuit, no sport or diversion unites the two extreme orders of society; no tie, social, moral, or material, binds together the gentry and the commonalty. The spirit of clanship has been extinct these threescore years, extinguished to its last spark by agricultural improvement, sheep-farming, and land-letting. Highland lords and lairds may hire a few lads to represent the Highland clan in tartan before her Majesty, but it is only make-believe. The tie is gone, in Lowlands and Highlands, between the chieftain or landowner and the people on his property. The chieftain of the cotton-mill or iron foundry has, in these days, a greater "tail," commands a greater clan, can gather a greater "following," and wields a vastly greater power and amount of physical force in the country, than any duke, lord, or laird, between Dunrobin and Drumlanrig. The Highland chiefs have improved away their clanships. It is in England in reality, not in Scotland, that any thing like a spirit of clanship is to be found, if by clanship be meant the hereditary personal attachment and mutual confidence between tenants and landlords. The English country gentlemen and their tenants are still holding together, in many counties, by a moral tie, by a mutual confidence in each other of fair honourable dealing, and by common feelings, interests, and mutual attachment from old hereditary connection, as landlords and tenants.

This is the tie of clanship in its highest and most civilised form. In Scotland the tie has been broken before attaining this form. The laird, his factor, or his writer to the signet, takes the best offer of rent, even if the next best were from a tenant whose family had been for many generations on the land. The heartless cold link of a nineteen years' lease, is the only connection between landlord and tenant; and has altogether superseded the moral or social tie of mutual reliance on honour, character, or sense of right. There is not, at this day, a tenant in Scotland, who would trust to his landlord's personal attachment, affection, honour, or sense of moral obligation between landlord and tenant, for holding his farm for a series of years at an old rent, without a written lease; nor one who would trust to his landlord's spoken word for the putting up even of forty fathoms of stone dike—no, not if his landlord were a duke—without having every thing specified in legal deed or missive, signed, witnessed, registered, and in complete form belligerent for the Court of Session. This want of confidence between man and man, in any thing but legal compulsion by deeds, betokens no very high moral sense in those classes in Scotland, and no very close clannish connection of personal attachment and confidence. Landowners and their tenants stand in England, in their relations to each other, on a much higher moral footing. The turning out of old hereditary tenants, men of good character and conduct, avowedly for the penny more of rent, or even the raising of rents suddenly to the full value of the land, are rare events in a country-side in England, possessed by the old English gentry. Confidence, moral confidence, between man and man is the peculiar characteristic of the spirit of society in

England. It is the lay religion of the English people, and a noble lay religion it is. The tenant sits from generation to generation, without writing or lease, never dreaming that his landlord will deny or disallow any thing just, reasonable, or usual, with or without special legal covenant. This element of mutual reliance on good faith cements man and man, class and class, more closely together in the social structure of England than in any other country; and it is not confined to the classes of landlords and tenants. In all the common business of trade, even to the greatest amount, mutual reliance, not mutual distrust, is the rule; and transactions in the ordinary affairs of life depend upon the good faith, the word, the custom of the parties, much more than upon legal deeds and written contracts of fulfilment. It is to the honour of the country gentlemen of England, that the cases are very rare and exceptional, in which they do not respond to the confidence of their tenantry. This mutual confidence in, and dependence on, each other for what is right, fair, and reasonable between man and man, creates what it relies upon, nourishes the moral sense in all classes, and gives weight and influence to public opinion on the right and wrong of the dealings, even of the highest individuals. Society rests on no such moral basis in any of the Continental countries, nor in Scotland, where feudalism, modified a little by modern institutions and improvements, remains still the groundwork of law and social relations between man and man. True it is, that the tenant is not so independent of the landlord, as with a lease. He may be turned out of his farm at a short notice; he may be required to pay a higher rent; his bargain is not legally so secure; and he cannot lay out his capital in agricultural improvement under

this tenant-at-will system so freely as under a lease duly drawn out by a lawyer, duly stamped, and with all the stipulations and covenants binding on either party, regularly set forth. Yet we do see tenants in England, such is their reliance on the moral principle, laying out money, and largely too, in draining, manuring, obtaining fine breeds of cattle and sheep, and in all the most expensive farm improvements; and doing so as freely and confidently, under their no-tenure, as the Scotch tenant under his nineteen years' lease duly registered and in form of law complete. So imbued are these English farmers, paying even large sums in rent, with this spirit of confidence, and so seldom is it not responded to by their landlords, that they do not care in many districts for leases, do not want them, and trust to a higher law than the Court of Sessions—the moral obligation between landlord and tenant, and the moral force of public opinion.

This closer, and morally juster, connection in England than in Scotland, between the different orders of the social body in their mutual relations, ways of thinking, ways of living, tastes, habits, manners, and ideas, appears unaccountable when we consider that in Scotland the actual schooling, the education of the different orders or ranks, the highest and the lowest, are much more upon a similar and equal footing than in England. Can it be that this very approximation, by which the individual of the lower class in Scotland may be, and very often is, the better-educated man, carries in it a principle of repulsion? Whatever may be the cause, the English people are very much more aristocratic than the English aristocracy. They draw the line themselves between the different classes in the social body; and it is the perpetual struggle of each

class, and the great stimulus to industry, to be able to adopt the manners, usages, and ways and comforts in household life, of the class immediately above itself. The English people confer the social importance and conventional distinction, accorded voluntarily to the nobleman or gentleman in England. This seems to be the great distinction between the Continental and the English nobility and gentry. The former derive their importance and dignity solely from the sovereign, and from the titles, decorations, and offices, bestowed by the court; the latter derive their social importance from the people, and are supported by the people as a creation of their own. The classes are more closely connected together, and act upon each other more beneficially for society, than in the feudally constituted countries; and England will probably be the last country in Europe in which nobility and gentry, or the aristocracy, will be abolished. It is a connecting peg holding together the social structure, and running through the whole of the institutions and life, public and private, of the English people. It has proved a false and unfortunate policy of the Continental sovereigns, to turn their aristocracy into a military or functionary class not connected with the people by ties of mutual services and good-will.

It is difficult to estimate in a satisfactory way, the comparative condition of the lower classes in two different ages, or in two different countries in the same age. We can understand that the upper classes in every country, the wealthy and educated of the social body, are, in the present times, in a condition infinitely superior to that of their ancestors. The physical good and material well-being and gratifications which commerce and manufactures have

brought within their reach, the intellectual and moral improvement which education and literature have effected in the upper ranks of society since the beginning of the sixteenth century, the security of life and property, the majesty of law inviolable even in the most despotic states, the influence of public opinion on the most autocratic governments, and the recognition of some civil and political rights in the social body by the most self-willed rulers, are blessings enjoyed more largely by the upper classes in the present age, than in any preceding times. We can understand too, that in every country manufactures, commerce, professional employments, the spirit of modern society, its complicated affairs and various requirements, have opened up many new paths unknown before, by which men of industry and talents may ascend from the lower classes of the social body to the upper, and even to the highest. But still the question is not solved by these truisms—In what is the class of working men, living by their labour in the field or in the factory, better off than their forefathers, or than their fellow-labourers in the present times in other countries?

Before we can examine this question, we must ask another—What is being well off? What is it that constitutes the well-being of the working-man? Is it plenty of food easily obtained? Not exactly so, or the emancipated negro who lounges away half the week in ease and indolence, and obtains plenty of such food as he prefers by the ill-directed labour of the other half, would be in a state of more real well-being than the European labourer. The lazzaroni of Naples would have to be reckoned in a higher social condition than the artisans of London or Paris. Is it food, fuel,

lodging, clothing, obtained by ordinary labour and industry in such abundance, that the industrious labourer earns a surplus, or is master of a surplus of his time and labour, to exchange for objects of his intellectual enjoyments? This, perhaps, would come nearest to the type of a highest state of well-being of the labouring class of a community, if we give to the phrase "objects of intellectual enjoyments" its proper meaning and extension. Knowledge, religious and moral instruction, reading, writing, literature, all that schools and books, in short, impart to the human mind, do not exhaust what is properly comprehended under the term intellectual. Our cultivated and acquired tastes for material objects are in reality intellectual, although closely connected with, or even used only for, our physical enjoyments. They are in origin intellectual; they spring from mind, and act on mind so powerfully, that they are in effect the most influential agents of civilisation in modern society. What intellectual powers, what invention, talent, judgment, what activity of mind, are perpetually at work to gratify the cultivated acquired tastes of mankind in any civilised condition, for objects of mere physical enjoyment, objects which are even repugnant to our natural tastes! The amount of intellect in the literature of a country is trifling, compared to that exerted in pursuit of material objects. The tastes, for instance, for tea, sugar, coffee, tobacco, spirituous liquors, for comfort, luxury, finery in dress and furniture, together with thousands of similar tastes, are the mainsprings of almost all social action and civilisation, employ a vast amount of intellectual action, and are all cultivated and artificially formed tastes, and strictly speaking are intellectual tastes, not

reared in the natural, but in the cultivated civilised man. These acquired tastes are at once the test and stimulus of civilisation; and compared to them, the purely intellectual influences of religion, morality, philosophy, or the purely physical influences of our animal wants of food, clothing, lodging, are inefficient motives in modern society, to exertion, industry, application of mind and body — in short, to civilisation.

If we compare these civilising tastes and the means to form and gratify them, of the common labouring man in England and on the Continent, the balance appears to be considerably in favour of our social state. Look into the dwelling of the English working man, who is earning the average wages of labour in regular employment, and how many articles we see for comfort, cleanliness, and home use and enjoyment, which we miss in the dwelling of the German or French labourer! We overlook them in England, because they are so common. We miss them abroad, because they are considered indispensable in the poorest English dwelling. The labouring man in England, although more ignorant, is more civilised by his tastes, habits, and wants, than the Continental man of the same station in life. His tastes, habits, and wants, are on a higher scale. His ignorance even is principally in matters without his own sphere of action; but in matters within it, in all that regards his own craft and business, he is more clever, acute, and knowing, than the much more highly educated man of the same trade abroad. If we approach the question nearer, and examine the means of gratifying the tastes and wants of civilised life, and the burdens which press upon those means in the social condition

of the Continental and of the English working man, the balance of means, as well as of tastes for a state of well-being, appears considerably in favour of the latter. It is the common theme of foreign travellers who visit England, and of many superficial observers among ourselves, that the social state of the English nation is a monstrous junction of boundless wealth, extravagance, and luxury above, and of utter destitution, misery, and suffering below. They look only at the upper and lower strata of the social mass, and do not perceive that all between the two is densely filled up with incomes and earnings of every amount and every fractional difference, from the highest, the thousands or tens of thousands a year, down to zero. There is no vacuum in the mass between the top and the bottom, as in the social state of the Continent. A zero, a destitution, total and extreme at one end of the social chain, there must be in every country. In considering the proportionate well-being of the working class in different countries, the question is,—Where is this zero farthest removed? where is the tendency to sink to it, or to rise above it, the strongest? Now it is evident, that where the middle of the social body is most fully occupied with incomes of all degrees, and where there is most capital and most expenditure in the most hands, there is most employment for the working man, and most tendency in his condition to rise above zero in the scale of earnings, income, and well-being. There is also, in the English social body, a peculiar feature, noticed in a former Note; *viz.* that the expenditure of income by all classes is almost altogether on objects produced by common labour and handicraft work, not on objects of ornament and high taste, employing only the in-

dustry of a small number of superior workmen or artists. In estimating the condition of the lower classes, not only the amount of capital in the hands of the upper classes who employ them, but its distribution, and the objects on which their income is usually expended, are essential elements. It makes an important difference in the well-being of the working-class man in every country, if the garden, the field, the stable, the house, and all within or around these, absorb the greater proportion of the income of his employers every year, and consequently afford him and his fellow-workmen abundance of common work in renewing, replacing, altering, and repairing, or if the greater part be absorbed in works of fine art, ornaments or trinkets of taste and value, in which common labour has little or no part or employment. What we call a taste for comfort, is a taste very little developed on the Continent; but it is of more social value by promoting the well-being of the many, than the higher tastes for the fine arts, as it turns almost entirely upon objects which ordinary skill and labour can supply. It is not talent, but ordinary skill and labour adapting objects to their uses in the most convenient way, that minister to the taste for comfort; and this taste, so universally diffused through all classes of the social body in England, and so little diffused abroad even in the highest classes, gives to the common man innumerable branches of employment and sources of earnings by common labour unknown to the Continental labouring class and to their employers. But this subject has been treated of in a former Note.

These are only speculative considerations. What are the actual, visible, tangible points of difference

in the condition of the Continental and the English working man?

The Continental working man has, in the first and most grievous place, to serve three years, between the twentieth and twenty-fifth year of his age, as a private soldier in a regiment of the line; and no substitute is allowed for this service, at least in Germany, which reckons 30 or 40 millions of people. The regiment may have its head-quarters far from his home and family. A young man from Prussian Poland on the Vistula, may have to join a regiment quartered at Aix-la-Chapelle on the west side of the Rhine. He must bring with him his own stock of clothes, *viz.* shirts, stockings, trousers, shoes, jacket, and cap, to last him the first year. How would an English joiner, blacksmith, shoemaker, or other tradesman, like to be marched off just about the time he had finished his apprenticeship, about the twentieth year of his age, to serve for three years in the 42nd or 20th, or any other regiment of the line? What kind of workman would he be after three years' idleness and total disuse of his tools? How would he like, after his three years' service in the line, to be enrolled in a militia regiment liable to be called out for service in or out of the country, at any time, and always called out, for six or eight weeks' drill and field manœuvre every summer, to some distant encampment? If the working man's time and labour be all his property and capital, and from twenty years of age to fifty years be the average working time, at full wages, in a workman's life, here is one tenth of this capital taken from him at once, in the three years' service in the line, besides his working habits and expertness being deranged for the rest of his life by the long disuse of his trade. The eight

weeks yearly of military service afterwards in the Landwehr take nearly one-sixth of his working time every year from him, to be expended in royal reviews and grand parades. If the English workman finds employment scanty in his own place, and thinks he may get steady work and better wages elsewhere, he sets out, and has only to consult his own judgment and his pocket about his removal. How would he like to have the soliciting for passports and for a transfer of his military service to some other Landwehr district and regiment, and to undergo vexatious examinations, scrutinies, and loss of time, in order to get leave to remove and seek work? He would probably say, such a life is not that of a tradesman or working man, but of a soldier on leave, working at his original trade when he can. It is, in fact, a state of civil life which can only exist where the demand and supply of the products of the useful arts are stagnant and inconsiderable, and where agriculture is in that low and dormant condition that, when the seed is in the ground, the agricultural labourers have a long period of idleness and leisure before harvest, which they can bestow, without inconvenience, on military service, if they draw pay and rations to support them while so engaged. But in a country in which the people have risen above the servile state, and where improvements are going on, and supply in all the useful arts can scarcely keep up with the demand, this interruption of all useful reproductive labour for one-sixth of the year could not be tolerated. It would be worse, in its social effects, than all the interruptions from saints' days and church festivals of the Roman Catholic religion in the darkest ages and most bigoted countries. In husbandry even,

unless in its lowest and rudest state, it is in this interval between seed-time and harvest that all prospective improvements must be carried on — draining, inclosing, ditching, building, road-making. It is a proof of a very backward condition of a country, that, when the "plough is cast," as the end of seed-time was termed in Scotland in former times, all field-labour is suspended until the hay-time and harvest. In such a social state, the working man, whether a tradesman or a common field-labourer, cannot be so well off as in Britain. The social arrangements are opposed to his well-being and thriving.

But these taxes on his time and labour are not all the direct taxes which press upon the Continental working man. The *Kopfsteuer*, head-tax or poll-tax, on each individual of the working class, is a very oppressive direct tax. The working people are divided, for taxation, into five or six classes; each individual paying a poll-tax, higher or lower according to the class in which the tax-gatherer or assessor thinks proper to place him. In Hanover, for instance, the tax on the day-labourer of the lowest class is one dollar (equal to 4*s.* 7½*d.*) per annum, payable by instalments monthly; and in this class, fifteen days' wages, or about 6 per cent. of his average income, is fixed as the maximum of tax on any individual. The tax on the highest class of working people is five dollars (23*s.* 1½*d.*) where in the lowest class it is one dollar. This is the system, with some variation in the classes and rates of tax in each class, on which the poll-tax or *Kopfsteuer* is levied in most parts of Germany. A trade-tax, or *Gewerbsteuer*, being a kind of income-tax on the supposed profits of the tradesman in every handicraft or branch of industry, and

also a licence-tax to exercise the trade; a journeyman-tax, levied on the class of journeymen according to their earnings; a shop-tax, or licence to open a shop; are direct taxes on the Continental working man unknown to the working man in our social state. In civil as well as in military arrangements, Prussia has been the model of almost all the other states of Germany. Her institution of the Landwehr shows the pressure of this semi-military state of society on civilisation and well-being, and her financial arrangements show the pressure upon the common man of her other direct taxes on the people. In Prussia, by a cabinet order of the 7th August, 1820, the taxes payable to the state were arranged and established under the following heads:—1st, duties and consumption-taxes on foreign goods; 2nd, the salt-tax; 3rd, the stamp-tax; 4th, the tax on trades; 5th, the land-tax; 6th, the taxes on home-made spirits, malt, home-made wines, tobacco-leaves of home growth; 7th, the tax on meal and meat (*Mahl* and *Schlacht Steuer;* literally grinding- and slaughtering-tax); and 8th, a class-tax, where the *Mahl* and *Schlacht* taxes are not levied. The land-tax was fixed by this edict at one-fifth of the clear annual produce of the land; but the domain lands of the Crown, and those of the privileged nobles, are to pay one-sixth only. The taxable population, and the rates to be levied, are divided into four classes: 1st, certain large cities, nine in number; 2nd, certain small towns, 132 in number; 3rd, all towns with more than 1500 inhabitants, and not included in the other two lists; 4th, all other small towns, and the country. The class-tax is not levied in those places subject to the meal and meat-tax; which exemption includes the 9 cities and 132 towns named in the 1st

and 2nd lists. The class-tax is levied by a division of the people into six classes. The 1st class pays monthly, for a whole household, four Thalers (about 11*s.* 9*d.* sterling); or, for a single person, two Thalers (about 5*s.* 10½*d.* sterling). The intermediate classes, between the highest and the lowest, pay proportionally less. The 5th class pays four Groschen (about 5¾*d.* sterling), for a whole household, per month; or two Groschen (about 2¾*d.* sterling) for a single person; and the 6th class, the lowest, pays one Groschen (about 1½*d.* sterling) per month for each person; but in this lowest class only three individuals in the same family can be charged with the tax. These personal taxes have to be paid within the first eight days of each month; and execution on the property ensues on non-payment of the tax after three days' notice of arrear, and imprisonment also for the debt. The meal and meat-tax includes all corn or kinds of grain, beans, peas, &c. The 100 lb. of wheat pays six Groschen (about 8½*d.* sterling), and of all other grain four Groschen (about 5¾*d.* sterling); and no quantity under 100 lb. can be ground. The meat-tax is one Thaler (about 2*s.* 11¼*d.* sterling) for 100 lb. of meat. The trade-tax (*Gewerbsteuer*) extends over all business, the making of any kind of goods for sale, all handicrafts carried on with journeymen, the trades of millers, carriers, skippers, innkeepers, provision dealers, lodging-house keepers, eating-house keepers, furnished room keepers, ale or spirit dealers. Bakers, brewers, and butchers, are rated particularly high, as the tax they pay falls almost as a direct tax on the public.

We have no direct taxes in England affecting the labouring class, or reaching so low as the class-tax or poll-tax, or the trade-tax of the Continental states.

House-tax, window-tax, income-tax, property-tax, or assessed tax of any description, never come down to the labouring man with us, not even to the tradesman, artisan, or master or journeyman workman in good circumstances, and belonging rather to the lower ranks of the middle than to the lower class. His contributions to the public revenue, are taken from him altogether in heavy indirect taxes on what he consumes. His tea, tobacco, ale, spirits, and every article of luxury he uses, is taxed more or less exorbitantly; but, since the abolition of the duty on foreign grain, few articles of prime necessity (soap perhaps is the only exception) come to him under a heavy tax. The indirect taxes now levied are not of the nature of unavoidable direct taxes by the indispensable nature of the articles they affect. A man escapes them just in proportion to his frugal, economical, sober habits. It is a recommendation of the mode of raising the revenues of the state by indirect taxation, that it promotes those habits which are most valuable in society. The question of direct or indirect taxation is often agitated by our political economists; but how the habits and well-being of our working population may be affected by the one or the other mode of raising the necessary revenues of the state, is seldom taken into consideration. The discussion generally turns upon the advantage to our commercial interests, if all the indirect taxes upon tea, wines, tobacco, and all other foreign articles, were abolished; and if all excise duties on malt, paper, and such articles of consumption were suppressed; and on the additional comfort and well-being which would be diffused by such a measure through the whole social body, and especially through the lower classes of it. Able political economists pro-

pose to abolish all our indirect taxes, and instead of them to substitute one direct properly graduated income-tax. Let us consider how such a measure would work in our social state. It would, no doubt, be very agreeable and comfortable to all ranks, to have our tea, tobacco, wines, spirits, malt liquors, and all the articles now so dear, brought down so low in price, that they would be within reach of all classes; and to have timber, bricks, and all other building materials free of duty for our dwellings. It would unquestionably give a great stimulus both to our foreign and home trade. But to effect this change in the mode of raising the needful revenue of the state, the substitute for the indirect taxes, the direct income-tax or poll-tax, must extend downwards to the lower classes hitherto exempt from direct taxation. It must come as low as the three halfpence a month class in the Prussian poll or income-taxation, and with a much higher rate of tax on the common labouring man, if it is to be at all an equivalent for the deficiency in the national revenue, which would ensue by the repeal of the indirect taxes. Now, it would not only be very difficult and very expensive to collect such a direct tax from our free and movable working population of the lower classes, from whose numbers the equivalent for the indirect taxes must be made up—for it is evident, from the small amount raised by the present income-tax, that it could only be made up by extending the equivalent direct tax very strictly over the whole population—but this equivalent tax would be grossly unjust. It would be grossly unjust to make the working man who does not sip tea, smoke tobacco, drink spirits, ale, or wine, pay a tax to enable those who do, to buy cigars for a penny, tea

for eighteen-pence a pound; and ale, wine, and spirits at half their present prices. They who indulge in those luxuries or necessaries, may pay for them, and the state may raise or lower the duty on them, and make them dearer or cheaper to the consumers; and it may even be a question of justice and policy, as between the state and the consumers, whether any duty, and what duty, should be levied on them: but there can be no question or doubt, that those who do not use them at all, should not be made to pay an equivalent tax, that others might have them duty free. This would not be natural justice, if it should be political economy justice. It is the peculiar character of our financial legislation, and, by favouring the accumulation of small beginnings in every branch of industry, one great cause of our national wealth, thrift, and prosperity, that we have no tax on the time and labour of the working man for military duty, and no tax which he cannot, with frugality and economy in his habits and housekeeping, avoid altogether, and without prejudice to health of body or mind, or to his respectability and character; and that when he does consume taxed articles, he pays tax only on what he consumes. *Magna Charta* is to the common man a trifle—a straw, compared to this great social right of paying taxes only for what he consumes. It is the main point of difference between the taxation of the subject of a free and of a despotic state — a citizen and a serf. The advantage of having tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, spirits, and ale, which are the principal articles of indirect taxation that enter into the consumption of the working man, sold to him at one third of the present prices, would undoubtedly add greatly to the material comfort of his condition; but

there are only two ways of obtaining this advantage — either by the total repudiation of the national debt, and the abolition of all the taxes it renders necessary, or by a conversion of those taxes into one direct tax reaching down, as in Prussia, to the earnings of the labouring man in the lowest class. With our indirect taxes, the man of this class can take his pipe of tobacco, or his dram, or let it alone, according to the pence he has in his pocket. He is a free agent in his liability to the tax, and is in a very different and much higher social position, than if he had the tax-gatherer coming to his door every month for a poll-tax on himself, his wife, and his children, with arrest and sale of his goods within three days if the tax is not paid, and imprisonment for any deficiency. The monthly collection of the class-tax in Prussia, Hanover, and all the German states, shows how oppressive it is on the lower classes, how much evasion of it is attempted, and what a host of small functionaries must be employed by the state to collect it, and prevent collusion or gross oppression. This class-tax creates the necessity of the passport system, and of the superintendence and interference of public functionaries in all private movement and business. In our direct income-tax, although coming down only to the upper ranks of our middle-class, and stopping there at a high rate of income compared to that of the working man, how much evasion takes place by removals, and the unsettled life of those subject to it endeavouring to avoid the tax-gatherer! It would require a total change in our social existence — it would require a passport system, in order to trace the defaulting tax-payer, and a functionary system, in order to assess the whole population into its proper

classes for taxation, to scrutinise the circumstances and earning of every individual, and to prevent fraud, and check injustice, oppression, or collusion. It would require, in short, the same military organisation of society as in Germany, to make such a direct taxation effective in England, and make the people submit to it. Where the population is dense and busy, the machinery, even in those military states, appears inadequate to the collection of a direct income-tax on the lower classes; and in cities and towns of a certain population, the tax is commuted into a tax upon the corn and meat consumed by the inhabitants — a *Mahl und Schlacht Steuer* — and a heavy trade-tax on bakers and butchers to get at their customers. If England could be taxed in the same ratio to its taxable means as the Continent — as Prussia, for instance, or Hanover, or Würtemberg or Bavaria, if all land paid one fifth of its net produce, all traders, from the directors of the Bank of England to the cobbler in his stall, paid a *Gewerbsteuer* or trade-tax, and every handicraftsman, journeyman, or workman down to the common labourer inclusive, paid a class-tax or income-tax, and all in proportion to the tax on land, and if besides this direct taxation we had, as in all those Continental countries, an indirect taxation also, as heavy as the consumption of the articles could admit, on all foreign goods entered for home consumption, how long would it take to lighten the burden of the national debt? England has a greater reserve of taxable property to fall back upon, if any great social convulsion called for great exertion of the state to raise money, and has more taxable means, than any country in Europe.

In his exemption from all direct taxation, in his

freedom from all compulsory military service, in his freedom to move from place to place to seek employment where he pleases, and to engage in any trade or occupation he pleases, without restriction, superintendence, leave, or licence from any functionary, and without being accountable to any man for his doings, the English working man is in a higher social condition than the Continental man of the same class. He is also in an easier position for working out his own prosperity and permanent well-being. The multiplicity of the branches of employment in our social state multiplies the means and opportunities of advancement from a lower to a higher condition. On the Continent it is only by preferment in functionary employment, in the Church, and in literary occupation as teachers or professors, that any advance can be made by a middle-class man. With us in every village and town how many instances we see of men rising by industry and good conduct, from very small beginnings, from a very low place in the social body, to such wealth, influence, and importance, that government employments or any situations the Church or the learned professions could offer, are inconsiderable objects in comparison! We hear every day of common labourers becoming great manufacturers or opulent merchants; and, if we look into society, we see, without hearing much about what is so common, tradesmen, dealers, operatives in every branch of industry, who in our social system have worked themselves up by character and conduct to independent circumstances and great well-being, from a very low position. This principle of progress from the lowest to the highest rank, is wanting in the Continental structure of society. The man even who has raised

himself to wealth and extensive action as a merchant or manufacturer, must remain there, and does not meet his just reward in society. He has no social influence, no legislative weight; an estate is but an investment for his money, as it brings with it none of those duties as a magistrate, or ties as a landlord, which connect together the landed proprietors and the people around them. Paid functionaries of the state discharge all those duties. The higher objects for which men strive — the social influence, the distinction, the seat on the bench as a magistrate, or in parliament as a legislator — are wanting, in Continental society, to the self-raised man; and all the industrial classes up to the highest merchants, manufacturers, or bankers, are proportionally torpid; the social influence and distinction in their circles of action which rightfully belong to their property, industry, and success being in the hands of a functionary class; and men have no inducement to rise in the world, and make room for those behind them.

One advantage, however, the Continental working man, who has gathered and saved a little money, has over the English working man. He can much more readily find a small piece of land suitable to his small means, in which he can invest his capital. The sale of national and Church domains in small lots, and the division of landed property generally over the Continent, have given the working class the opportunity of acquiring small estates. To possess land seems to be a natural craving in the human constitution. How strong and general this desire is we saw lately, in the eagerness with which Mr. Fergus O'Connor's land scheme was taken up by the middle and working classes. Artisans, tradesmen, people of various occu-

pations, who could not, without a great sacrifice, have betaken themselves to husbandry on a few acres of land, for a living — tailors, shoemakers, and such craftsmen, who can only earn a living in a town population or a crowded village — paid instalment after instalment to obtain a lot of land at last, by his land scheme. They were not aware, nor perhaps was Mr. O'Connor, of the legal difficulties and expenses which must render abortive any scheme of purchasing a large estate in England, and dividing it into lots to which good title-deeds could be given, and of making over the lots severally, clear of claims and encumbrances, to the subscribers, in succession as they paid up the value by instalments. Yet the scheme itself, in the abstract and apart from the conventional obstacles opposed to its fulfilment, is a good scheme, and one which government may some day find it sound policy to adopt or promote, in order to raise up in the country a more numerous class than we have now in our social body, interested by the possession of fixed property in the soil, in the preservation of peace and security, and in the defence of the proprietary rights in land. A yeomanry may be as necessary as a nobility or landed gentry, if it be true that there are bands of socialists, communists, or levellers abroad in the world, as our newspapers would have us believe, intent on having all property in common or divided anew. Land is the most insecure of all kinds of property in domestic commotions. It is visible, irremovable, and divisible; and we have seen in the French revolution, that for one capitalist who lost his moveable property, a thousand landowners lost their estates.

If we review all the burdens, taxes, and privations

of the lower classes, or of the common man who has to live by his labour, on the Continent and in England—if we compare the state of religion, law, morals, civil rights, personal freedom, and of the amount of employment, and the prospects of rising from a lower to a higher condition, open alike in England to all classes, and compare the access to public opinion for the redress and exposure of individual grievances, the condition of the labouring class in England is certainly very superior to that of the same class on the Continent. The material advantages also are greater. The sea all around us is an element of employment unknown even on the shores of the Continent. What a large proportion of our working population is employed, indirectly and directly, in work connected with this element of life and industry! Food, also, is better in England, fuel more abundant, clothing cheaper, the habits of living more wholesome, the constitution, or power of enduring fatigue, exposure, and hardship without injury, more exercised, and the bodily health and strength, in a given number of persons taken promiscuously from the population, seems greater than on the Continent.

CHAP. XIII.

NOTES ON THE INDICATIONS IN FOREIGN AND BRITISH TOWNS OF A READING PUBLIC.—PRINTING AND BOOKSELLING ESTABLISHMENTS IN BERLIN AND EDINBURGH.—NEWSPAPERS, PERIODICALS, SECTS, MEETING HOUSES INDICATE A HIGHER INTELLECTUAL CONDITION OF OUR POPULATION.—ON THE RHINE PROVINCES OF PRUSSIA.—LANDWEHR AND CONSCRIPTION COMPARED.—BETTER SATISFIED WITH THE FRENCH THAN THE PRUSSIAN GOVERNMENT.—DISJOINTED STATE OF THE PRUSSIAN KINGDOM—THE PARTS INCAPABLE OF UNION INTO ONE NATION.—THE UNION OF SCOTLAND WITH ENGLAND MISLED THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA IN THE PARTITION OF EUROPE IN 1816.—ON MUNICH—THE FINE ARTS—FRESCO PAINTING.—INFLUENCE OF THE FINE ARTS ON CIVILISATION CONSIDERED.

BERLIN claims the distinction of being the metropolis of German literature. Here men of the highest talents and intellectual attainments, Humboldt, Tiek, Ranke, and many others of European celebrity, are congregated and pensioned. Here, too, swim shoals of the small fry of authors, who follow in the wake, and grow big upon the leavings, of the great leviathans of the *mare magnum* of German literature. The obscure traveller, gliding alone through the streets of Berlin, unknown and unknowing, cannot be expected to dive into its blue serene, and pick up pearls of anecdotes about the great unknown or known who have their being in its philosophic or poetic depths. He sees the surface, however; and may estimate the extent of intellectual action in Berlin, compared with its extent in our great cities, by very homely, but not very inconclusive, evidence. Take any ten streets, not inha-

bited by the very highest nor by the very lowest classes, in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester; count, right and left, the booksellers' shops, hucksters' book-stalls, shops with books in the window along with other rubbish, also circulating libraries, reading-rooms, tap-rooms with newspapers "taken in," stationers' shops, and all the social machinery, in short, which diffuses knowledge and is called into existence by a reading public, and they will be found to exceed very greatly the same kind of establishments in any ten streets of Berlin. The difference struck me so much, in wandering as a stranger through Berlin, and buying a considerable number of books at an eminent bookseller's, that I endeavoured to get some statistical data on the subject. According to the official Report of the Director of the Statistical Bureaux at Berlin, J. G. Hoffmann, there were, in 1837 (when the last official Report was published), of booksellers, print-dealers, and music-dealers 83 shops only; of circulating libraries only 41; and of printing establishments only 38, with 180 presses. This was, in 1837, the literary machinery of Berlin, a city with a population, at that date, of 265,394 persons. Edinburgh, including Leith, with a population of 166,450 persons (not three fourths of the population of Berlin), gives employment to about 85 printing establishments; and booksellers, stationers, music dealers, printsellers, and such trades as may be classed under the rubric of *Buch- Kunst-* and *Musikalienhandlung*, in Hoffman's Report, amount to about 164, without including the many small shops selling second-hand books with other goods, and too humble to pay for their insertion in the Directory. It is not much that can be deduced from such statistical facts. They are too vague and

variable. It is not too much to conclude, however, that if Edinburgh represents Scotland, and Berlin Prussia, the demand and supply of food for the mind must be considerably greater in the former, than in the latter country. If we look at the quality, also, of the food for the mind, supplied to the public appetite and taste, we must rank the intellectual character of the common reading people of Scotland and England very far above that of the Continental populations. Our newspapers, not only the daily London papers which can afford to employ the highest talents in their composition, but the ordinary provincial or country-town newspapers, published weekly or twice a-week, and to be found in every publichouse, well-frequented shop, and respectable family within a circuit of forty miles, are publications of a much higher literary character than any provincial newspapers on the Continent, embrace a greater variety of subjects, treat them with more judgment, and show a more intelligent and higher cast of mind, both in the writers and readers, than can be inferred from any provincial Continental newspapers. When we look at the monthly shower of periodicals, tracts, serial publications, and pamphlets, falling like snow upon the people, and consider the vast circulation and high literary merit of such publications as Blackwood's, Tait's, Fraser's, Chambers's, all supported by and circulating among the lowest, not the highest, classes of the reading public, and all in the hands of the working man, it is ridiculous to hear it gravely stated in speeches and pamphlets on national education that, among the people of England and Scotland, education and educational means are less generally diffused than among the people of Germany. If a stranger to Europe—an educated American, for

instance — were to travel over England and Germany, he would pronounce England to be the more educated and more reading country of the two, from the indications of printing, stationery, books, pamphlets, newspapers, handbills, advertisements, notices, placards, all showing that reading and writing are necessaries of life, not merely amusements, among our lowest classes, and enter into their daily business in every station. From the great variety of sects and denominations of Christians, with their numberless chapels and meeting-houses, and the fine points of doctrine distinguishing them, which are not even very obvious to the uncultivated unexercised intellect, he would conclude that the middle class of our social body, who organise and maintain the vast body of intellectuality among them comprehended in their religious views, whether orthodox or not, must be a people of a very reflective turn of mind, and of great energy, perseverance, and zeal in carrying their principles out of theory into actuality. He would compare them with the torpid mass of the German people, who either passively receive and acquiesce, without inquiry, in whatever is laid down to them by their rulers in religion, politics, and social life, or who, like the Athenians in their decay, discuss, philosophise, refine, gossip, and expend their energy in disputation, but in action are incapable of self-government for common interests, or for promoting the principles they discuss and adopt. The events in Germany and France of the years 1848 and 1849 give proof of the inferior education of the Continental people for practical life, and of the want of judgment and common sense even among the most educated men, in their grave attempts, in national assemblies at Paris, Berlin, Frankfort, Vienna, to frame for their

constituents a suitable constitution. The ludicrous schemes and speculations of these constituent assemblies composed of educated men, prove that national education must be something else than reading and writing at government schools, under educational serjeants. The true education of the mind of a people, the preparation to govern themselves and others, and to judge and act aright in their public and private affairs, is the training men receive in the complicated realities of business, in such a free active social state as that of Britain or of the United States. A people of amateurs, artists, authors, performers in literature, music, painting, theatrical representation, and the fine arts, have not attained so true an education in the autocratic and semi-feudal states of the Continent, as the people of common sense and ordinary intellect have attained in the free social state of England and America.

The provinces on the Rhine, which were annexed to Prussia by the congress of Vienna, have a country population of about a million and a half, besides the considerable cities, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, Treves, Coblentz, Bonn, on the left side of the Rhine. This territory had been incorporated with the French empire under Napoleon. The country on the opposite side of the Rhine, with the important manufacturing towns, Dusseldorf, Elberfeld, and others, belonged to the kingdom of Westphalia, and had also been under the French laws. The people are Roman Catholic; and in manufactures, trade, capital, and industry, are very far in advance of any other portion or people of the Prussian dominions. The Code Napoleon, the trial by jury, the open courts of justice, were much more popular with them than the Prussian laws and

institutions, and the French military conscription was considered much less burdensome and oppressive than the Prussian landwehr service. Napoleon's government had, in fact, produced much good along with its evil, in the social condition of those provinces which had been incorporated in the French empire, or placed under French law and government. The husbandman had been freed from tithes and feudal burdens or servitudes. The dismemberment and sale in small portions, of the Church and state domains, had placed many little estates in the hands of people who had only been feudal tenants before; and the agriculture of these provinces had unquestionably made great progress under the French government. The swarms of begging monks who formerly wandered over the country, living upon the superstition of the people, had been entirely extirpated, and with them a great deal of the superstition by which they lived. Perfect freedom of religious belief was established. The rich livings in the Church being reduced in wealth, were no longer an object for the nobles or upper classes, and the sons of peasants filled the vacancies, and were a clergy devoted to the government of Napoleon, and who, in this most bigoted country in the North of Europe, quietly performed their clerical duties without regard to Rome or the denunciations or authority of the pope. The prelates, abbots, and canons, who had formerly lived upon the fat of the land, had emigrated or died out, and were replaced by a poorer working-clergy, drawn from a lower class. Trade and manufactures flourished in these provinces, under Napoleon's Continental system of the exclusion of all English products. It was, in fact, the foundation of their prosperity,

and the leading example, it had succeeded so well, of the similar exclusion by the German Customs' League, for the same purpose of securing a home market for the manufactures of this quarter, which their quality and price would not obtain in a free competition with British manufactures. The conscription was unquestionably a very grievous burden; but it was considered a more tolerable evil in a manufacturing country than the vexatious yearly-returning landwehr service. The conscript was taken away once for all, as if he had been swept off by cholera. His civil career was at an end, and his place was supplied. But the landwehr man is taken away every year, and for the most useless service in time of peace when there are no hands to spare, as in a time of war, in a manufacturing population in full work. The Rhine provinces have had ample experience, both of the conscription system under Napoleon, and of the landwehr system since their annexation to Prussia. We are so accustomed to hear the French conscription denounced as the most tyrannical, oppressive, and unpopular measure ever resorted to in modern times, for raising or recruiting an army, that we are amazed to find in a statistical account of the Rhine provinces, published at Cologne, that the people of these provinces, after an experience of both, of the conscription and of the landwehr system in succession, prefer the conscription as the less burdensome of the two. They are competent judges certainly; for they, and some millions more of the people of the Continent, have had the infliction of the two, one after the other. The Landwehr, they complain, takes every man from his business for three entire years, and then every year afterwards for an uncertain period of from six

weeks to two months. It unsettles and deranges every man engaged in manufacturing business, and is suited only to an agricultural population, and only in that low dormant state that, when the seed is sown, there is a long period of idleness until the crops are ripe, and no work is carried on that can prevent the peasant from giving a few weeks to military service. But this state of husbandry is found only in the eastern provinces of Prussia, and not in the provinces on the Rhine, in which the small estates are farmed as in Flanders and Belgium, and the large on the most approved principles of agriculture. The conscription took by ballot a certain number of the young men each year, who had attained the military age and had not yet served. When the quota was complete, those who had not been drawn were free, and those who had been drawn might, in ordinary times, escape from personal service by finding a *remplacent* or substitute. The conscription was, in fact, our own militia ballot, only recurring more frequently and stringently; but in its worst form it is a much less oppressive burden than the landwehr service, which takes every man, without any substitute, for three years together, and then for several weeks yearly as long as he lives. By this statistical account it appears that, from exact information and calculation, three conscripts only, on an average, in towns of a population of 1200 souls, had actually been obliged to march, and only one, in villages of 400 inhabitants. The rich or busy, who could not leave their social position or trades without ruinous consequences to themselves and others, were allowed by law to find a substitute, and could always do so for a price about equal to what was generally given in England during

the war for a substitute for the militia, about thirty or forty pounds sterling. This money fell generally into the hands of the family of the substitute-recruit, and was very useful to the peasantry in particular, by giving them a little capital to lay out in the purchase of a lot of land, and relieved them also from the maintenance of one of the family whose labour was not required at home. The parents very often saw their sons rising step by step to considerable, and even high, military rank and emolument. The young men in general, were eager to engage in a military life, in which so many of their own class were advancing to high situations from the same beginning. The balance of pay due to those who died in the service, and the pensions of those maimed, were always, even in the times of the greatest financial distress in France, remitted punctually and faithfully to the relatives or parties at home, and brought no inconsiderable sum annually into circulation among the peasantry of the Rhine provinces. The conscription was by no means so much detested by the people of these provinces, as the subsequent landwehr system of their Prussian masters, and is in reality a mild and civilised system compared to it. The spirit of military distinction and of honour belonging to the military profession, is strong in the conscript, even when he is dragged unwillingly into the service. He is of a distinct and distinguished profession. But all are of this profession in the landwehr system. It is no distinction at all to be a soldier, where all men are from necessity soldiers. In France, and in the Rhenish provinces when part of France, this feeling of professional superiority over men in civil occupations sweetened the lot of the conscript, and

was a kind of social recompense paid to him. In the landwehr system this distinction and feeling are lost, all people being equally military, and having served, day for day, the same time, in the same routine of duty and with the same feeling of discontent.

The Prussian provinces on the Rhine are in spirit much more allied to France than to the Prussian provinces on the Elbe, the Oder, the Warte, or the Pregel. The latter suffered as conquered provinces, under the despotism of Napoleon, from 1806 to 1813. They existed only to pay contributions and support French troops. The former were a part, and even a cherished part, of the French empire itself. The despotic rule of the chief affected but a few individuals, of a particular class, in the departments. The burdens were the same, and the laws the same for all ranks and classes. The restrictions on the liberty of the press were no intolerable grievance to a population too ignorant, or to busy, to bestow much time on reading; and the restrictions on the importation of English goods gave an impulse to the manufactures and trade of those provinces, unknown to them before or since. To the people of those provinces their annexation to Prussia was a positive evil. The best markets for the products of their industry were in France. They had the laws of France, the Code Napoleon, to which they cling with the more attachment, because they are more cheaply administered, and more simple in the procedure, than the Prussian semi-feudal law. They have the character and feelings of a French, or of a French and Belgian population, not of a German. Their petitions, or rather reclamations, in 1818, for the performance of the promises of a constitution, show

much more of the determination to obtain their rights, than of German loyalty, patience, and implicit confidence in the sovereign. These provinces are the Yorkshire and Lancashire of the present Prussia, and are bound by no hereditary ties to the Prussian government, and by no present benefits. The cities of Cologne, Coblentz, Treves, and the town of Cleves made very distinct demands, in April, 1818, and direct to the sovereign, for a representation of the people in a constitutional Government — equality of taxation, without any exemptions of persons or classes — equality of all the subjects in the courts of law — the retention of the open courts of justice and oral testimony, of the trial by jury and the independence of the judges, as established by the Code Napoleon — and the abolition of all the feudal courts and procedures. These demands show that the people are in a very different social state and mood from the ignorant inert population of the eastern provinces of this kingdom, or from the easy submissive Germans about Berlin, or Breslau. In Silesia even, which had been above fifty years under the Prussian sceptre, the petitions for a constitution according to the royal promise solemnly given in 1813, are more energetic than polite. "If war were to arise," it is said in one of those petitions, "it would then be too late to grant a constitution."

The different provinces of which the present kingdom of Prussia was patched together by the Vienna congress, are too distinct, in social condition and character and in their material interests, to be amalgamated into one nation imbued with a common spirit. The length of this kingdom from the Russian frontier to the French, or from Memel to Saarbruck, cannot be less than 1200 miles in a straight line;

and taking its breadth from the northern point of the isle of Rugen to Plesse in Upper Saxony, it will be about 600 miles. The kingdom has been compared to a wasp in shape. A body of two parts is connected together by a slender ligament. The eastern part contains about seven and a half millions, and the western about three and a half millions of inhabitants. No mutual wants connect together the provinces of this oddly shaped kingdom, no trade with each other, no common interests or objects. The intercourse between the people on the Baltic and the people on the Elbe and Rhine, must be less than between any two provinces belonging to the same sovereign in any kingdom in Europe. Each group produces the same articles for its own subsistence, and requires no importation of such articles from any other group; or if a supply were required, the distance, and land carriage, and bulk of the raw articles of agricultural produce which might be wanted, preclude the interchange between them of industry for industry. People so separated by distance and by the total absence of any want of each other under any circumstances, may be placed under one government or monarch, by the fiat of a congress or the will of a conqueror, and called one people in official papers; but they never can be amalgamated into one nation. They will remain as distinct as Englishmen and Hindoos. This want of unity in interests, character, and social condition among the shreds torn from other nationalities (which the congress of Vienna and the hereditary greed of territory that has always distinguished the Hohenzolleren monarchs, have annexed to the Prussian dominion), will always prevent the people of this kingdom from

being a nation. It will only be a political kingdom held together by treaties and military autocratic government; but will never be a natural kingdom, of which the subjects are nationalised and held together by common interests and feelings. This, perhaps, is the most valid excuse that can be given for the delay of the late, and the present king, in fulfilling the promise given to the people, in 1813, of a constitutional government. It is but too true, that if the people under the dominion of Prussia had a representative legislature, the character, feelings, and material interests of the different provinces and classes of this kingdom of patchwork are so different, that it could not work beneficially for all. It would always be producing a one-sided partial legislation. The enactments useful, or even necessary for provinces on the Baltic, would be onerous, or even grossly oppressive, for provinces in the interior of Germany. One enactment could not be applied to all, consistently with justice and good government. This observation is still more applicable to all Germany, if the proposed union of all of German race and language could be carried into effect according to the visions of the German philosophers and writers. The very ideas, wants, and language of the representatives from these Rhenish provinces, would be unintelligible to those of Pomerania, Brandenburgh, or of the provinces on the Vistula. The upper classes alone have a common civilisation, and a common language in the cultivated German. The middle and lower classes stand in a different stage of civilisation; and, as may be supposed in so large a space of country, and with such restrictions on their moving from place to place, have a *patois* in each province, a

dialect of the *Platt Deutsch*, unintelligible to those of the same class in the other provinces, and have a difference of essential interests still greater than the difference of language. The people are not accustomed to self-action, even in their own affairs as individuals, and are not ripe for taking a part in the legislation of a whole country. The educated upper classes, again, are quite as little prepared to become practical legislators—it is not a part, but a dominance of his own in legislation, that each individual of these classes claims for his own ideas and theories. France and Germany are like potato-beds under the recent disease; the roots not advanced to maturity, and the stems and leaves over ripe, falling off, and withering in a premature vegetation.

The union of Scotland with England in the beginning of the last century, has, in the present, been the cause of great social and political evil on the Continent of Europe. It has proved so successful and complete for all purposes of the state, that the great powers, and their Metterniches and Castlereaghs, at the settlement of Europe in the congress of Vienna of 1815, 1816, considered it an example, and a justification of all annexations of one country to another, however discordant in feelings or interests; and a proof that, in a few generations, in a century or so, differences will vanish—feelings, prejudices, and interests will be amalgamated, and two distinct nations will become one. They did not consider what were the circumstances and steps by which the Scotch and English became assimilated in national spirit to all the extent that is required for the purposes of British government; and to what extent they remain still distinct in character, mind, and social action, and never can

be assimilated, or made one people, to the extent required by the Continental autocratic governments. No two nations, originally distinct and hostile, ever were so closely bound together by common feelings and interests, by mutual intercourse and business, as the Scotch and English; yet they are, at this day, two as distinct peoples as ever cut each other's throats without knowing why — distinct in way of thinking, way of living, character, manners, religion, laws, language, and social institutions. It is precisely by leaving those inextinguishable differences untouched, and without any attempt to assimilate them in the two countries, and by merely knotting together into one uninterrupted line, the actual material interests of the two, that the union of Scotland and England has been made so essentially complete and happy for both. It is precisely by the very opposite policy, by meddling with, and trying to assimilate every thing, even things the least essential to good government, and the most distant from the legitimate subjects of legislation — such as the language of the country in Belgium; the Lutheran and Calvanistic Churches, and the education of the people in Prussia; the liberty of thought, speech, and action in Lombardy — that the annexations decreed by the congress of Vienna in 1815, have been broken up; and, in 1848, scarcely a fragment of the European system then established remains in union with any other fragment, unless under the grasp of military power. The European sovereigns, in the pride of victory, dealt with human nature in their partitions and annexations at the congress of 1815, as if man were but a puppet created to march, present arms, pay taxes, and obey. The example of Scotland appeared to justify all arrange-

ments of territory which suited the sovereigns themselves, without any consideration for the wishes or interests of the people.

'At the period of the union of Scotland and England, many circumstances combined to unite the material interests of the two nations. Commerce, manufactures, and the colonies were beginning to prosper, and to create a demand in England for a kind of labour which Scotland could supply, and which England, owing to her different social institutions, could not. As workmen the English were, and still are, very superior to the Scotch; but as educated workmen, who could read, write, keep some kind of account, and oversee and conduct with steadiness, sobriety, and intelligence what was entrusted to them, the Scotch were, and still are, superior to the English labourers. They had the advantage of a useful education in their parish schools; and from the religious controversies in which the preceding generation, even in the lowest ranks, had taken a part and interest, some kind of mental power, acuteness, self-respect, or pride in conduct, had been awakened among them. In England the Scotch labourers very generally filled in civil society what serjeants and corporals do in a military body; viz. those offices in which head as well as hand is needed: and even to this day the situations of chief gardeners, warehouse-porters, and such places, in which reading, writing, intelligence, and educated habits of sobriety and regularity are required, as well as manual labour, are generally filled by Scotchmen. The demand for educated labour raised the common Scotch labourer to a high attainment and character in his rank of life. The union of Ireland came too late to raise the Irish people in the same way, even if they

had enjoyed the previous education at home of the Scotch. The market for educated labour was pre-occupied. Cheap manual labour, not a higher description of labour, was all that Ireland had to send to England; and that was not required in England, and could neither improve the condition of the English, nor the character of the Irish, labourer. The Scotch came with a kind of labour more valuable, more scarce, and better paid, and which, depending upon conduct, sobriety, intelligence, and education, raised the lower and middle classes of the Scotch people to a higher condition than they were in before, and united them by their material interests to England.

In the annexations made by the Vienna congress, especially those to the Prussian dominions, no regard was paid to the material interests, or to the laws, rights, feelings, or prejudices of the people separated from other sovereignties and annexed to Prussia. The provinces torn from Saxony, Sweden, or from independent existence as small states of the German empire, were parcelled out, apparently by a stroke of the pencil on the map. The union of Scotland with England was considered proof conclusive that, in a generation or two, all discrepancies would disappear. They would so, if the natural material interests of the parts had been the same, and had been amalgamated by free intercourse and mutual affairs. But misgovernment in its worst form, that of over-governing—of mixing government in all things, however little-connected with the stability of the state or the legitimate objects of legislation, and of centralising and reducing to a common form (for the sake of giving employment and subsistence to a functionary class) the social affairs of people with local interests and

under natural circumstances totally different, and often opposed to each other — has produced the very reverse. The Pole on the Vistula, and the Westphalian on the Rhine, are Prussian only in name. They have no common interests or objects uniting them into one nation, no mutual intercourse or interchange of industry for industry; as little have the Swedish subjects of Pomerania on the Baltic, with the subjects of Saxony in the centre of Germany — all annexed equally to Prussia by the Vienna congress. The provinces beyond the Rhine are French in character, laws, manners, language, and in material interests. Such nationalities cannot be extinguished by the protocol of a congress. Prussia is but a kingdom on paper, on the map; but not in the mind of the people. It is a kingdom, but not a nation. The movement throughout Germany of 1848, has proved that the settlement of Europe in 1815 by the Vienna congress, has been but an arbitrary and temporary partition of the Continent among the allied sovereigns, based on no principle, regardless of the differences of material interests, natural circumstances, character, spirit, temperament, and peculiar idiosyncrasy which divide nation from nation, and of which the parts cannot be held together, under one common law and government, unless by military autocratic despotism. This cannot be a permanent settlement of the Continent of Europe in our civilised times. We are entering upon an age of anarchy, transmitted to us by the thoughtless autocratic congress of Vienna, in which the sovereigns looked only to the increase of their own territories and the defence of their power from French invasion, not to the circumstances of the European people.

Munich is the Athens of Germany, nay, of Europe —the European academy of taste in the fine arts, and consequently of all human civilisation. So they tell you here in Munich, and the opinion is adopted very generally. The Bavarian ex-monarch declared some years ago, on laying the foundation stone of a second Pinacotheque, or picture gallery, "that he lived but for his artists;" and all Germany re-echoed with applauses of the foolish saying. Two or three snug little questions, each of which might be stretched out into a volume, suggest themselves. First, Is it true that Munich-taste is the best and purest of all tastes, past, present, or to come, in painting, architecture, and the other fine arts? Secondly, Is it true that civilisation is measured most correctly by the state of the fine arts in a country? and that the civilisation of the fine arts, of the *esthetic*, is of a higher nature and more connected with the social, moral, and religious well-being of a people, than the civilisation diffused by the culture and enjoyment of the useful arts? Thirdly, Is it true that kings should live for their artists only? should tax their subjects to the utmost, in order to erect masterpieces of architecture, very beautiful and very useless? should lavish the means of the country in gilding, stucco, statuary, fresco paintings, and such unreproductive objects? I shall spare my readers, and merely give my impressions at Munich, without pretending to discuss the inquiries they suggest.

The city stands upon a vast plain of very sterile land. It is to art, not to nature, that it is indebted for any beauty or amenity. In the distant horizon, in clear weather, the hills of the Tyrol are distinguishable; but distant mountains, however lofty—Mont Blanc itself, from the Lake of Geneva—may be very small

and unimpressive on the horizon, as the spectator's eye only measures their altitude by the very inconsiderable portion of the arc from the zenith to the horizon that they fill up. The river Iser rushes through the plain and the city in several branch streams, running with such velocity of current that you look around you for their mountain origin; and when you see no high ground near, and no sensible declivity of the plain, you are at once struck with the truth, that those distant mountains on the horizon must be of great height to throw down their waters with such force at such a distance. The Iser, coursing across the plain with the strength and swiftness of a mountain stream, would be a beautiful feature, but that its water is of a milky, greenish, or soap-suddy hue; the banks low, muddy, and canal-like; the country around flat, meagre in vegetation, and unpicturesque. It is to objects of art alone that the eye of the traveller turns. Nature has few charms in the vicinity of Munich, although an extensive piece of ground at one end of the town, has been *Rumfordized* into an English park, by the same ingenious gentleman of the last generation, to whom the world is indebted for never-smoking fire-places, cheap soup, and other draughts upon posterity for undying fame. The eye is sated at Munich with palaces, public buildings, museums, galleries of pictures and of statuary works, collections of antiquities, curiosities, and nic-nacs of all kinds and degrees of merit, from dressed dolls, representing Indian faquirs and Chinese mandarins, to the Venus and Graces of Canova, and the Greek sculptures from Ægina. Is this the Athens, or the curiosity-shop of Europe? Is this the school of all that should be adopted, or of all that should be avoided, in the fine arts? These questions

are alternately uppermost in the traveller's mind, as he takes a first rapid view of the objects of fine art at Munich.

On the evening of my arrival, I set out from the inn—the *Guldene Hahn*, or Golden Cock, a middling, old-fashioned, German inn—and strolled about the town, to explore its streets without the annoyance of a *valet de place* at my elbow. Passing the Main Guard—always the first public establishment that catches the eye in foreign towns, and the last in ours—I came to a celebrated object, the Iser Gate. It is one of the oldest of the modern embellishments of Munich; one of the first in which fresco painting was adopted, and its exposure to the atmosphere in Bavaria fairly tried. It cannot be said that the plaster has suffered, or that the colours have materially faded, during an exposure of about fifty years to the heat and cold, damp and drought, of a climate very variable, or rather, exceedingly given to extremes. The durability of the art, or of its means—plaster and colour—in out-of-door works, seems sufficiently established by this experiment. It is charitable to suppose that to try the experiment was all the builder intended, and it is not fair to criticise the work in any other view. This building, however, being held out to the traveller as a distinguished object of fine art, independently of the successful proof it gives of the durability of fresco painting in our rough climates north of the Alps, the traveller may state the impression it makes on him. The Iser Gate is placed without any meaning: it corresponds to nothing, joins nothing, keeps nothing in and nothing out, but is simply a gate-by-itself gate, which seems to have dropped from the moon into an open space in a street of Mu-

nich, to be decorated with fresco paintings. In this pure simplicity of want of purpose, this nothing-to-do-ishness where it stands, the Iser Gate might have vied with the similar structure at Hyde Park Corner, before the Duke and his horse took pity on it and gave it something to support. The Iser Gate is flanked on each side by two rotundities, more corpulent and dwarfish in their dimensions than beseemeth genuine gothic towers, and in shape resembling more the two Heidelberg tuns set on end than any other mediæval structures. Round the heads of these towers, below their mock battlements, runs a fillet of gaudily painted escutcheons, or shields, of red and white, green and blue, in brilliant quarterings; and very splendid they are in colours. But what are they intended for? Whether the gate is to be taken for a Roman triumphal arch, or for a Gothic castle-gate, or both in one, the men on the battlements would scarcely hang their shields out of their own reach, and where they could not get at them either from above or from below. But ornamental effect is probably all that was intended. The effect is similar, but on a great scale, to that of the fillet of gilt paper usually bound round the end of a dumpy web of broadcloth in a draper's shop. Above the arch or gateway itself is a long fillet, about eight feet broad, and some seventy feet in length, teeming with allegory and history in fresco. The figures are very spirited sketches, in bright colours, by Neher and Kögel. Is it from ignorant prejudice, or is it from a just dislike to the incongruity of mixing painting with architecture to produce one architectural effect, that this fillet of painting is not satisfactory to every taste? The Elgin marbles in their native position and state, a frieze or fillet of stone-

work forming one ornamental portion of a stone temple, are in unity of effect with the building, and are a part of it; but the very same figures and subjects painted on a stripe of canvas, or on stained paperhangings, or on a stripe of plaster in fresco paintings, and hung up or stuck up where the sculptures had been, would to every eye be a monstrous incongruity. No merit in the painting, no spirit in the sketch or splendour in the colours, could quell the secret feeling that this fresco painting, however admirable in itself, has no legitimate right to be where it is, as an adjunct to the architectural effect of the edifice. The two arts are naturally distinct in the principles and means of addressing the human mind.

At every step the traveller takes among the show edifices of Munich, this question in esthetics still recurs to him — Is it sound taste in the fine arts to mix up architecture and painting, to produce a joint effect? is it not merely theatrical decoration? The theatre itself at Munich gives an apt illustration of my meaning. The edifice has a handsome, a very handsome, front in the Grecian style. Above the architrave, in the space in which we usually see a group of Tragedy, Comedy, the Muses, and such figures, either in complete statuary, or in sculpture more or less in relief, we have here a fresco painting of such figures, very brilliant, not to say tawdry from the contrasts of bright colours. This painted figure group is felt to be but a paltry substitute for statuary, in a solid permanent building. It looks like one of the drop-scenes of the stage hung out to dry, or a theatre turned inside out; for the impression of solidity and permanency, which is an essential element in architectural effect, is wanting. A painted canvas, or lath

and plaster and painted stucco, can produce no architectural effect. A pyramid, or a cathedral, or a castle, of lath and plaster and painted stucco, would only be an unsatisfactory and ludicrous imitation of the architectural object, as the essential elements of solidity and permanence are wanting. The deception of painting the exterior of brick houses like natural blocks of stone, and by the trick of the brush giving the mock stones veins and weather-stains to deceive the eye, proves that the eye naturally seeks reality and the solidity and permanence of stone in architecture. In the same square with this theatre is another public building, the Post Office, presenting a row of pillars towards the square. The dead wall behind the pillars is painted with a deep, or rather dingy, Pompeii red colour; and a horse in white paint, a Pegasus or some such device, figures on this dark-red ground, which brings out admirably the row of pillars in front of it. This is, no doubt, done upon very sound principles of stage effect; but is it on sound principles of architectural effect? is it architecture, or is it only an imitation of architecture? is the effect produced by deception, or by reality? In the fine arts no substitute for reality of excellence is tolerated. The mere imitation of quality is rejected in the fine arts, as well as in the useful arts, and in matters of taste, as well as in matters of morals. The thing must be genuine, real — a real specimen of the good in the art it belongs to, or it is despised. The stucco imitation of stone-work, painted weather-stains, rough mock-granite, smooth mock-marble, and all the brick or stone of the paint-brush, belong to the decorative art, and in it may be meritorious, but belong not to architecture. In the decadence of the fine

arts, the Romans began to decorate their statues with coloured eyes, cheeks, and hair, and to ornament them with precious stones. Akin to this taste is that of mixing up fresco colouring with stucco decoration, to produce architectural effect. In spite of Greek or Roman authority for painting the exterior of buildings, one feels that painting has no business out of doors.

We are very apt to confound the merit of overcoming a great difficulty, with the merit of the work produced, and to place the sum total to the credit of the latter. In poetry how much passes upon us as excellent, not from any poetic excellence in the ideas, but from difficulties ably overcome in the versification, rhymes, technical rules of style, unities of dramatic composition, or other circumstances? The painting upon wet plaster is unquestionably a great difficulty, which can only be overcome by a rare combination of a sure eye and a ready hand, besides all the other qualifications of an artist. The colour, whether mixed only with water, as in ordinary fresco painting, or with wax to give it body and gloss, as in encaustic painting, must be laid on at once, in its full intensity, on a space of the plaster kept in a wet state to receive it. Fresco painting admits of no coming over again, to amend faults in the drawing, colouring, or keeping. All the effect must be produced at once, in a single stroke of the brush, without retouching. This is a great technical difficulty, requiring a rare combination of talent in the artist who overcomes it; but we are apt to confound the merit of overcoming it with the merit of the art itself. Fresco painting as a fine art is, on account of those very difficulties, an imperfect and inferior means, compared to oil painting,

of representing the pictorial idea, whether that be a scene from nature, or a poetical idea of the artist. The plaster, no doubt, bears out the raw colours, the blues, reds, yellows, with full brilliancy as laid on at once from the palette; but there is no blending, shading, heightening, or subduing the tone. The highest artistical skill must be required to produce any thing at all, with such difficulties in the imperfect means of producing; but the merit of the artist who accomplishes the production, is something very different from the merit of the work produced, or of the art itself. The artist who walks a mile upon his hands with his legs in the air, accomplishes a very difficult work, and may have great merit for the ease, grace, and beauty he exhibits in his action; but the merit of the art itself, compared to the art of walking the distance on one's feet, is rather questionable. The great Italian artists, Leonardo da Vinci, Michel Angelo, Raphael, Domenichino, overcame the imperfection of the means to which they were, it is probable, very unwillingly bound—fresco painting being the only means afforded them by monks and church officials, who wanted cheap, showy, and expeditious work upon their walls—and have left in fresco painting some of the noblest conceptions that the poetic mind ever expressed in outline and colour. But it is far from evident that those great artists preferred the means they were under the necessity of using; and it is far from evident that Bernard Neher, or Kögel, or Spohr, are Leonardos, or Raphaels, or Dominichinos, who did great works with imperfect means. Fresco painting, as it is seen here in Munich, seems to stand in the same relation to oil painting, as the pantomime or melo-drama does to the regular drama. The figures, attitudes, expression,

dresses, are all necessarily exaggerated, not to say caricatured, because the means of truthful representation are wanting.

The old garden of the court is a large square area filled with dumpy besom-shaped trees stuck in coarse gravel. The palace forms one side of the square; a barrack with its parade, another; and the other two sides are laid out in a colonnade, that is, a row of pillars in front of a wall adorned with compartments painted in fresco, and affording a covered walk. A few untenanted shops, and a good coffee-room, open into the colonnade. The fresco paintings, sixteen in number, are historical subjects in bright colours and pantomimic attitudes, painted by Cornelius, Zimmermann, Röckel, and Sturmer. On one side of this colonnade are twenty-eight landscapes in fresco, representations of towns or scenes in Italy, by Rottman. Some of these are clever coloured sketches; but not so superior to the tea-tray landscapes of the Birmingham japanner, as the oil painting of a Gaspar Poussin or a Claude is to the best landscape among the twenty-eight. Each of these landscapes is honoured with a distich from the pen of his Bavarian Majesty himself, the ex-king. It cannot be said, that the poetry is not equal to its subject; but kings should be content to wield the sceptre of gilt wood studded with jewels, and should leave the intellectual sceptre—the poet's pen—to those born to it. The royal palace, which forms one side of this square, consists of three connected palaces—the old residence, the new residence, and the newest new residence. The old residence was built about the year 1600; and from its magnificence was called, in those days, the eighth wonder of the world. Gustavus Adolphus in 1632, when he

was master of Bavaria, wished he could put it on wheels and carry it home to Stockholm. Splendid as it is, this old residence is eclipsed in splendour by the two adjoining, and stands like a dim faded thing beside them. In them all is gilding, stucco, inlaying, precious material, and precious work; and the powers of colour have been exhausted to produce brilliancy and magnificence. Nemesis and Nike, Apteros, Chronos, Himeros, and a hundred other old mythological personages under new or restored names, painted in encaustic on the walls, grin allegory at you from every corner, in all the bombast of the pencil. All is attitude, costume, and grimace, contrasts of brilliant colours, exaggeration of expression and action, the dumb show of the figures in a melo-drama, not the representation of nature's men. This German school is to the works of the Italian masters what, in dramatic art, Bluebeard is to Othello. The magnificence, the surpassing splendour, of the succession of gilded saloons in the new palaces, overwhelm the spectator. If he will confess the truth, he is wearied even to disgust, at the wild extravagance, gaudiness, unsubstantiality, false grandeur, and false taste, in the profusion of gilding, stucco, and fresco colours, above, below, and around. He gets through these halls with the feeling of all being overdone, of the "too much" of splendour rendering splendour effectless. The hall of Charlemagne, the hall of Barbarossa, the hall of Rudolph of Hapsburg, with paintings in fresco by Schnorr, Hess, and other great artists of this German pantomimic school of painting, the hall of beauty, filled with portraits in oil painting of the most beautiful ladies of the Bavarian court—reminding one, but in considerable contrast both of the subjects and

execution, of the beauties of the court of Charles II. by Vandyke—lead you to the Throne Hall, in which stand twelve colossal gilt-brass statues of the ancestors of his Majesty, overcoming with the mass of glitter and gilding all preceding glitter and gilding. What has all this tasteless extravagance cost? Who have worked and toiled, and been taxed and starved, to pay for all this fresco, and gilding, and bronze, and stucco? And what are these baubles, after all, as objects of fine art? Is not a single cartoon of Raphael, as it stands in Hampton Court at this moment, worth, as an esthetic object, all the encaustic smearing on these roofs and walls? Is not a single statue in the gallery of Florence, worth all the ponderous gilt-brass ancestry of the royal house of Wittelsback in the Throne Hall? Is not a single reality in architecture, statuary, or painting, a single true thing—true to the principle which is within us acknowledging the beautiful—worth all this imitation-work, stucco-work, effect-work, gilding, plaster-dyeing, inlaying, and trickery in the fine arts? The characteristic of the Munich school of architecture, painting, and sculpture is tawdriness. Its highest object is decoration and the ingenious toy called the kaleidoscope appears to have formed its taste, and to have given the model of what it strives to realise by colours and gilding. This taste for the tawdry bestuccos, bedaubs, and begilds every square foot in the palaces of Munich. All the public buildings are not in the same tawdry taste as the Iser Gate, the Theatre, the Post-Office, the Arcade, and the palaces. The Museum of Sculpture, to which with no great taste the barbarous name of Glyptotheque is given, is a fine specimen of the chaste classical style in its exterior. In the interior it is super-splendidly

decorated in the kaleidoscope style, with bright colours and gilding on ceilings of great magnificence. It is no doubt an impertinence in fine art that a Schwanthaler, a Cornelius, a Schlotthauer, should intrude their conceits in fresco or stucco, their Venuses, Apollos, Cupids, Muses, and such common-place allegorical figure-furniture, in the central saloon of halls filled with the highest works of Grecian art, originals or first-rate copies; and the traveller wonders by what taste or reason such tawdry daubs came under the same roof with the Egina marbles restored by Thorwaldsen, with Canova's Venus and Paris, with the son of Niobe, the Bacchus, the Medusa; works of the highest class of art. It is as incongruous as a kitchen-maid's dishclout in a drawing-room. The Pinacotheque, by which barbarous Greek name we are to understand a picture-gallery, is also a vast heavy-looking edifice, in which nine large saloons and twenty-three cabinets contain about 1300 pictures. As the Munich school of painters is properly a school of house decorators, the specimens of their art of decoration is not out of place here, and their skill and attainments in it are exhibited in these two buildings with propriety. It is only with the aid of the kaleidoscope that the brilliancy of colours, and variety of patterns in the fresco painting of the ceilings, can be imagined. The splendour of the rooms, however, may be no advantage to the pictures they contain; it overpowers the sober beauty of many of the most esteemed works.

It must strike every traveller in Bavaria, and even at Munich itself, that the influence of the fine arts in producing refinement of manners and habits, is sur-

prisingly small. In this very city of Munich, in which the revenues of a kingdom are lavished every year on the encouragement of the fine arts, so little is the refinement of manners, that, even in the gilded state apartments of the royal residence, in the saloons of Apollo and the Graces, you see spitting-boxes filled with saw-dust, placed in every corner, to receive the evacuations which civilised people of any refinement of habits, delicacy of taste, or regard for the feelings of others, do not allow themselves to make, either in company or alone. So little is the sense of comfort developed amidst this taste for splendour that, even in the gilded palaces, the lodging apartments above the magnificent saloons are reached by uncarpeted stone-stairs with a hand-rail of common rough rod-iron. This civilisation of the fine arts at Munich, appears to the reflecting traveller very like the civilisation of the North American Indian, who stuccos and paints his face in fresco, and smears his skin in encaustic, while he has not advanced so far in the useful arts as to make himself a waistcoat and pair of breeches to keep his body warm. Is it not mere prejudice or the pedantry of artists to maintain, that a sense and taste for the fine arts are a more civilising influence in society, than a sense and taste for the comforts and enjoyments supplied by the useful arts? Good clothing, good furniture, cleanliness, domestic comfort, and all the objects of common taste supplied by the exercise of the common useful arts, and all the objects of acquired taste, as sugar, coffee, tea, tobacco, set in movement a greater amount of intellect and industry to produce and obtain them, and work upon mankind in a vastly wider circle, than all the productions of the fine arts in any country. With us, in a city of the

size of Berlin or Munich, the middle-class man, the tradesman or artisan, sits down, after the toil of the day, with his family, to his tea and toast, in his clean well-furnished room, surrounded by more articles contributing to his comfort and gratification, than you see in the inhabited apartments of the decorated palaces of those cities. Is not this the civilisation of the useful arts? The unshaven frowsy German of the middle class, or even in rank of a much higher class, lounging in *glyptotheques*, *pinacotheques*, theatres, or concert-rooms, living in a decorated *café*, and his family at home living between four bare walls—a bed, a table, a mirror, and a few chairs on the cold floor, all the conveniencies or accommodations of a comfortable living they have any idea of—may be a man of consummate taste in the fine arts, may even be an artist, as well as an amateur and a judge of art; but he appears to English taste and judgment to stand upon a much lower step of civilisation, of intellectual culture and social utility, than the man of the same class and station with us, whose mind is always exercised in the many complicated operations, affairs, and matters of business in his ordinary trade and daily life. Is it not a false importance that is ascribed by men of taste to the fine arts? It appears to the ordinary traveller, that the wide diffusion in Germany of a taste for the enjoyment of the fine arts, has weakened the feeling and taste for the enjoyment of the somewhat more important objects in social life—civil liberty, freedom of mind, action, and industry, good government, and constitutional checks upon its folly or extravagance. *Glyptotheques*, *pinacotheques*, fresco paintings, operas, theatres, ballets, Taglioni, Grisi, and

Jenny Lind, are but poor substitutes, after all, for our two houses of parliament, trial by jury, open law courts, a free press, liberty of thinking, talking, and moving about from place to place without control, and a few other good things we enjoy, and which the cultivation of the fine arts would never have given us. The esthetic civilisation has civilised the people of Germany out of common sense, out of a right appreciation of the social and moral value of the things before them, out of independence, industry, civil and political liberty; and they are but now beginning to awake from its chloroformic influence, and to rave about constitutional government and civil liberty, of which they feel the want and yet are not prepared to enjoy the use.

An instance of Munich taste struck me in the Protestant or Evangelical Church at the Carl's Gate. It is a fresco painting on the ceiling, executed, some fifteen years ago, by Hermann, and representing the ascension of our Saviour. In this fresco painting, God Almighty is represented as an old man with a white beard, receiving His Son ascending from earth! This may be good taste and right feeling at Munich, and the paltry daub of a picture does not entitle us to expect more power in the conception than in the execution; but it would not be reckoned good taste or right feeling in any country advanced beyond the rudest civilisation, to attempt to paint God Almighty in fresco on a church ceiling. The greatest of artists have avoided such an attempt, as beyond the scope of their art, and inconsistent with the true object of heroic or religious painting, which is the representation of human mind embodied in ordinary humanity. When

the ignorant zeal of monks dictated to the great Italian artists the subjects or designs of altar-pieces or church decorations, the greatest failed in the attempt to represent the Supreme Power in the human form. The presumption of this Munich artist is equal to his taste; and the taste of his Munich employers, who allow such a wretched academic figure, badly copied apparently from the common bust of Homer, to stand as an adequate representation of their conception of the Supreme Being, is on a par with that of the artist. The fresco school of Munich painting is caricature applied to religious and historical, instead of to comic, subjects. Extravagance and exaggeration are the principles common to this, and to the avowedly comic school.

If we inquire closely what have been the civilising influences which have raised, and are now raising, mankind to higher grades of well-being and of moral and intellectual attainment, than in ancient times, the fine arts would come in for a remarkably small share of the honour. Their influences have been confined to a small class, and must necessarily always be so. That small class—the court, the professional and the literary men of a country—considered themselves, and in some countries really were, the only public. But the gradual advance of society in wealth, well-being, knowledge, and occupations requiring intellectual culture, has raised up a vastly greater class, whose civilisation and attainments are in no way connected with the influence of a taste for architecture, statuary, painting, music, or what are called the fine arts. The countries in the highest state of moral and intellectual culture at the present day, and the classes

in those countries the most cultivated, morally, intellectually, and religiously, know little or nothing about the fine arts, have no taste in them, and are in no way indebted to them. The countries in the lowest state of moral, religious, and intellectual culture—Italy for instance, and Bavaria—are those in which the taste and feeling for the fine arts are most generally diffused. The false importance attached to great attainments in the fine arts—often the result of mere mechanical skill, and of the peculiar natural organisation of the individual, as in musical attainments—seems to mislead the judgment of men in the ordinary relations and affairs of life, and to train them to undervalue moral, social, and religious action, and to overvalue esthetic action, or production in the fine arts. This is eminently the case in Germany; the beautiful is cultivated and esteemed beyond its due proportion to the useful. A great proportion of the educated cultivated class of Germans are men whose taste, imagination, and judgment, in matters connected with the fine arts, have been cultivated at the expense of sound good sense, and of the steady application of their mental powers to the ordinary business of life. They are admirable professors, teachers, scholars, poets, musicians, and judges in the fine arts; but poor men of business, either in political or social affairs, in public or private station. In the middle, and even the working, class of the German people, the cultivation of taste in the fine arts has been carried to an excess in their education, and has civilised them out of prudence, industry, and utility in ordinary life. The passion for the enjoyments of taste in the fine arts, and the false estimate of the value of men and

things when valued according to their esthetic excellence, may be harmless, and at the worst merely ridiculous, in the highest and unoccupied class in the community, who have leisure and wealth to bestow on those subjects of taste and fancy; but they are out of place in the class which has to grapple with the stern realities of life, and to apply judgment and experience, not imagination and feelings, to the affairs around them.

CHAP. XIV.

NOTES ON A REMARKABLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ANGLO-SAXON AND THE OTHER BRANCHES OF THE TEUTONIC RACE, IN THE LOVE OF MUSIC.—ON MUSIC AND MUSICAL EDUCATION—NOT SUITABLE TO THE ENGLISH STATE OF SOCIETY.—ON THEATRICAL REPRESENTATION.—FALSE IMPORTANCE GIVEN TO THE SOCIAL INFLUENCE OF THE FINE ARTS ON CIVILISATION.

It is a remarkable difference between the German branch and the English of the same Saxon or Teutonic race, and one of the first which strikes the English traveller in Germany, that the former, the German people, are the most musical, and the latter, the Anglo-Saxons, the least so, of any people in Europe. Is it a physical difference of organisation? or is it the result of different circumstances of education, habits, and social condition? In Germany music is not, as in Britain, cultivated and enjoyed only by a few, principally females, in the upper ranks of society, or in the wealthiest of the middle class in the great cities; but it enters largely into the habitual occupation and enjoyment of all classes, is universally diffused, is taught by order of government in all schools, is familiar to every individual, practised in every family, and is a real social influence, an important element, in German life and character. Is this a beneficial influence and element in life and character? Would it be possible, or desirable if possible, that our English population should be as thoroughly musicalised as the German? The question deserves consideration.

The conventional jargon of the courts, artists, and literary men of the times of Louis XIV. and Louis XV., which has descended as an heir-loom to the same classes in our times, about the humanising influences of music and the drama on the human race, and the superiority, as efficient means and undeniable proofs of civilisation, of the fine arts — the arts which administer pleasure through the organs of sense, the eye or ear, to the cultivated and refined taste of the upper classes — over the vulgar useful arts which diffuse comfort, industry, and intelligence among the mass of mankind, has been brought to the test of experience in our days. It is not the musician, the fiddler, fifer, or bagpiper, who has humanised the Hottentot, and raised the New Zealander, the Sandwich Islander, the Cherokee, to a higher social and moral condition than the lazzaroni of Naples or Rome who have lived under the civilising influences of music and the fine arts for ages; but the artisan, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the seamstress, and schoolmistress, with her husband the missionary. The age of Orpheus is past; the stocks and stones of our generation are only to be animated, moved, and civilised by higher and more intellectual influences and enjoyments than harmony of sound. Music, in its most successful efforts, addresses mind much less distinctly and intelligibly than the most imperfect language. It conveys no idea or meaning, but only the impression or feeling of the sensations, which ideas sublime, pathetic, gay, or agreeable, would produce if conveyed by language. Music, which Sir Humphry Davy calls the most intellectual of our sensual pleasures, may rouse, agitate, or soothe, may delight the sense for harmony of sound, and thus it undeniably enlarges the circle of human

enjoyments, and adds to them a sphere of its own, a new world of pleasurable sensations; but these effects are as evanescent as the sounds which produce them. The mind and its powers, the intelligence, the judgment, the moral sense, are not acted upon and exercised by the most delicious harmony. The musicians who produce it, are not themselves more humanised or civilised, that is, more moral, virtuous, and intellectual members of society, than those who never heard good music. The prima donna, or the first fiddle of the orchestra, should, by the influence of the civilising art they have been all their lives cultivating, be the models in society of all that is comprehended under the terms of civilisation, refinement, and social worth; yet the character of professional musicians is so often the reverse, that the cultivation of the art itself is looked upon by many with distrust, as weakening rather than strengthening the mind, as wasting time in vague sensation, and as nourishing passive, rather than active, habits in the individual—an effect on character to be avoided rather than cultivated. This prejudice against music is a re-action of the undue importance bestowed formerly, and even now in some classes, on musical accomplishment. It had become a fashion to consider the cultivation of music the most essential branch of female education, and that it betokened a rude uncultivated mind if music was not attained or attempted. There are many, indeed, who still consider the cultivation of music so important a branch of education, that they would have it placed in all our public schools on the same footing as reading, writing, and arithmetic, and would make the teaching of music obligatory, as it is in Prussia, in all schools over which government has any control.

In the social state of Britain, there are objections to this general diffusion of musical taste and skill, which are not altogether founded on vulgar prejudice. They spring from vulgar good sense, which often seizes on the right and expedient in social affairs, although not always able to explain the grounds of the kind of instinct by which it does so. If the advocate for a general musical education of the people of Great Britain, would take a walk down any main street of London, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, in which the busy, striving, intelligent middle class — the shopkeepers, tradesmen, and artisans — dwell, and ask each shrewd, prudent, respectable father of a family, standing behind his counter or his work-bench — "Would you like to have your boys and girls taught music?" he would find that ninety-nine out of a hundred would, upon full and deliberate consideration, answer him, "No!" Their reasons would resolve themselves in substance into the following considerations of the difference between their social position and that of the people on the Continent who can afford to cultivate music.

To acquire and keep up any proficiency in music, requires considerable practice and time; an hour every day is scarcely sufficient to make a tolerable performer on any instrument, or to keep up his proficiency. Now, on the Continent, where all handicrafts, trades, and branches of industry of every kind are fenced in and protected from competition by corporation-privilege, government licence, and by the want of capital among the classes from whom competition with the already established tradesmen could spring up, it is very natural and possible, and perhaps very suitable and salutary, that the young man who is learning his trade,

or rather who is earning, by a long and unnecessarily protracted apprenticeship and journeymanship, the privilege to exercise his trade in a kind of monopoly secure from intrusion, should have the leisure to bestow an hour or two every day in acquiring and keeping up his musical skill and taste. It may even be very useful in the social state of the Continental people, in which mind and social action are not free, and all political, religious, and many literary subjects, discussions, and conversations, are, or have until lately been, under censorship or interdicted, that the youth of the middle and lower classes should have some occupation like music to turn their minds from prohibited interests and objects, something to prevent them from thinking on public or local affairs, something unimportant yet exciting to bestow their idleness upon. But in our free and competition-driven social state, the young man has far less spare time, and far more important and manly occupations for the little time he has to spare. With us, the young man who has to gain his living by the work of his hands or head, cannot in general command more than two hours in the twenty-four of unbroken healthful leisure. Allowing he has but ten hours of actual work, there are two hours, the breakfast hour and dinner hour, of broken time passed in rest in or near his workshop or factory, and one hour must be allowed in the morning to dress, arrange his little domestic concerns for the day, and walk to his place of business, and one hour on his return, to clean himself, market, mend his clothes, and attend to such home affairs; and if he is a diligent active workman, he requires at the least eight hours sleep. By this summary of the steady operative man's day, there are but two hours over for intellectual improve-

ment, and social, religious, or domestic duties or enjoyments. Is he to spend half of those two precious hours of leisure, in learning to blow the flute or play the fiddle, or in listening to a concert in a crowded alehouse ball-room? Abroad, labour is not pushed on to the same speed of production by a competition in every trade and branch of industry; no business and very little work is done in the evening in most ordinary handicrafts. The winter season is a much more slack time than with us, communications and transit of goods by land or water being more impeded by frost and snow. Holidays, also, are much more numerous; and both in Protestant and Catholic countries on the Continent, Sunday is a day of music-making, balls, and theatrical amusements for the middle and lower classes. The young German artisan has thus a leisure to apply to music, and to cultivate a taste for it, which is unknown to our operatives of the same class or trades, and would be incompatible with our social institutions and condition. It is not denied that a taste, skill, and knowledge in music would add much to the enjoyment and innocent recreation of the working man; but the acquirement of this taste, skill, and knowledge, is out of his reach, unless by the sacrifice of more important and higher attainments, duties, and enjoyments, or such a revolution in our social arrangements as would give the working man leisure to acquire music, without interfering with the short time he has to bestow on his domestic duties and business.

A consideration, also, of equal importance, is not to be lost sight of—the bad effects on our conduct in life, of a secondary object being raised in our estimation, to the dignity and value of a primary

object. The artisan who has acquired, by much time and practice, a certain proficiency on any musical instrument, and a certain skill and taste in music, must naturally value this proficiency, skill, and taste at what it has cost him, and is apt to follow up this secondary object of musical attainment at the expense of the primary objects on which the well-being of himself and his family depends—skill in his work and steady prudence in his living. He sees other men attain eminence, distinction, and wealth, or, at least, an easy living, by their musical proficiency, and why should not he? The stage-struck apprentice, deserting his trade for the vagabond life of the heroes of the buskin, is but a type, on a small scale, of a music-struck operative class, spending the few precious hours they have for domestic duties and enjoyments, or for reading and intellectual improvement at home, in practising their parts in the music of a forthcoming concert, or listening to the airs of the last opera. When they have attained the object, and are really as good performers as amateurs can be, what have they attained for their time and application? Has the sacrifice of a great proportion of all the leisure hours of their lives to musical proficiency, raised them morally or intellectually, given them healthful habits of mind and body, given them knowledge, industry, prudence? If you hold out a false object, such as musical proficiency, or a masterly performance on any favourite instrument or with the voice, as something worth attaining at the expense of half the leisure time of a working man, and worth, consequently, all the knowledge he can acquire in the other half, as a means of attaining social consideration and all that men endeavour to attain by in-

dustry, exertion, intelligence, and good conduct in the ordinary walks of life, you educate that man to be an adventurer instead of a respectable member of society. You deteriorate his character by your education. You give him a false object in life, or false means to attain the true object of life. The second object, the musical proficiency, becomes the first when a man has bestowed his time and powers on its attainment for many years. He becomes an indifferent workman and an indifferent member of society; because he has attained an eminence in his own opinion, and possibly in the opinion of others, by his musical accomplishments, independently of skill and industry in his trade, or of regular, domestic, and moral habits in his daily life. It is owing to this false, although in their position very natural, view of life that we see actors, musicians, and artists, frequently despising the ordinary virtues, and as members of society, falling below the class from which they came. It is owing to this false view of life, that we so often find the German artisan very far below the English in activity, vigour, industry, intelligence, and skill in his own trade and in all belonging to it, although far above the English workman in taste, musical and artistical accomplishments, and conversational knowledge. It is owing to the false education giving this false view of life in their schools, that we meet so many Germans wandering about the world, full of all kinds of accomplishments except steady industry and habits of application to any ordinary means of earning their bread, full of sentiment, honour, knowledge, and feeling, yet somewhat deficient in common good conduct and good sense, and who, if life were a drama, and music, morals, would be well educated men; but

in our working world of reality and morality, in which amusement is but a secondary concern, are not suitably educated for the business of life. Music and the fine arts occupy the mind and time of the Continental man so entirely, that it is scarcely an exaggeration to say, they are his substitutes for civil and political liberty, domestic habits, industry, and skill in the useful arts, energy of character, perseverance, and all that distinguishes the Englishman. The undue place and importance given to esthetic over useful acquirements in the education of the former, may make better musicians and more enlightened amateurs; but will not make better men or more efficient members of society than the latter. The good sense of the million with us, may console us for the small success of the singing of the million.

But sacred music? Psalmody at least! Is it not very desirable that singing and musical proficiency should be so far cultivated, that the Psalm tunes, in our country churches, should be sung with some degree of musical skill, so much, at least, as not to shock the ears of the pious and musical of the congregation? I would reply to the question by asking two or three. First, Where in the New Testament is vocal music inculcated or prescribed by our Saviour, as a suitable mode of worship? The singing of hymns by the disciples is mentioned; but not, like prayer, inculcated or prescribed. It rests on the Jewish practice before the Christian dispensation. If we refer, then, to the Old Testament for authority, we must take instrumental music as well as vocal to be suitable worship. The Roman Catholic and the Lutheran Churches admit both, and with more consistency than our Presbyterian Church, which, in its devo-

tional exercises admits one — vocal music, and excludes the other — instrumental music, without reason assigned. But, if music be admitted on the authority of the Psalmist David, as suitable worship or devotional exercise, on the same authority dancing must be admitted. King David danced before the ark of the covenant as an act of worship. Is the Presbyterian prepared to add the Highland fling to his Psalmody? In strict consistency of reasoning he must, if he consider singing, on the authority of the Old Testament, to be a pure and acceptable worship. And why, if he admits perceptions, impressions, or emotions conveyed to the mind or heart by one of our senses, to be holy and to be a true worship, does he exclude those conveyed by another and nobler sense, that of sight? Why, and with what consistency, does he exclude the perceptions, impressions, and emotions conveyed by painting or sculpture from the character of holy, and admit those conveyed by music? Is the ear a more intellectual organ than the eye? Is a Psalm tune, the New London or the Old Carlisle, a more spiritual and higher intellectual production than the head of the Saviour by Guido, or the crucifixion painted by any of the great artists? The truth is, that the usage of the Church since Luther and Calvin established the present forms of worship in their respective Churches, is the only intelligible argument in favour of music being introduced in any way into the service. Luther and Calvin were not apostles. Their practice has been, and may be, reformed when inconsistent with the spirit and common sense of their fellow-men in after times. Luther was a true German in his enthusiasm for music. His devotion to it was, even in his own times, considered a blameable weakness in his character. He retained in his Church service, as much

as he could of the musical worship of the Church of Rome. Calvin, Knox, and the first clergy of the Presbyterian Church, found Psalmody a good mechanical expedient, which it really is, for affording a necessary pause and rest to the mind, both of the preacher and congregation, after a long prayer and sermon requiring the most fatiguing exertion and attention. To prevent this Psalmody, however, becoming a mere musical worship, it is customary in some Presbyterian churches, and in all on days of dispensing the sacrament, to read a line and sing it, without continuity of music or regard to time. The Presbyterian minister, who considers Church music as a suitable worship, and as such, an art which ought to be taught in all places of education of youth and cultivated by all congregations of Christian people, will do well to pause before he invests music, or painting, or sculpture, with any such holy character. He will find that, if he admit one, he must admit the other, he must admit a principle from which all the pageantry and idolatry of the Roman Catholic forms of worship are very legitimately deduced. He will find that he has got upon a railway, of which the terminus is Rome, without a station to stop at, with any consistency of reasoning, between pure spiritual Presbyterianism and rank Popery.

These are considerations which should make many fathers of families in the middle and lower stations of society, hesitate about a musical education for their children in our public or private schools. The whistle may cost more than it is worth.

The drama, or rather theatrical representation is, like music, a branch of the esthetic of which the influence on society has been ridiculously overrated. According to Voltaire and the literary men of his

age and school, the civilisation and intellectual condition of a people are more significantly indicated, and more truly measured, by the state of the drama among them than by any other test. In the court of France, from the days of Louis XIV. and his successors, and in all the petty imitative German courts which adopted the opinions and follies of the philosophers and nobility of France, the theatre was considered a very important social power, not inferior in its influence on the civilisation of a country to that of the Church, universities, or schools, and, like those establishments, to be maintained by the state out of the public revenues. If all the state revenues expended in France and Germany, since the age of Louis XIV., on theatres, opera-houses, actors, and singers, had been laid out on schools, teachers, libraries, and other educational means for the people, the moral and intellectual condition of society in Europe would have been very far in advance of its present state. The opinion of the great social importance of the stage was not confined to the circle of nobles, courtiers, and literary men idling about the great seats of monarchy, such as Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and fancying themselves the world, or the representatives, at least, and the models to the world, of true philosophy, civilisation, manners, and all that the world should adopt. We find such great men as Göthe and Schiller seriously occupying themselves in the petty country towns of Weimar, Stuttgard, and Jena, about the rehearsals, dresses, and drill of the theatrical corps supported at the little courts, discussing the cut and colour of the jackets and helmets of the actors, and evidently considering theatrical representation, and all the details of the stage business, as matters of

infinite importance to mankind, and deserving all the time and attention even of their minds. On the Continent this heir-loom opinion has descended to the governments of the present day; and in France, Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, in the midst of empty exchequers, forced loans, and impending bankruptcy produced by the events of 1848-1849, the governments think it a wise and honest policy to devote large sums annually—in France about half a million of francs in 1849—to the support of the theatre, and to tax the country for the amusements of the metropolis. That the Hof-theater, court theatre, national theatre, opera, or whatever the favoured theatrical establishment is called, should be supported by those who have the benefit or pleasure of attending it, and not by taxes on those who cannot attend it, seems an idea of justice not at all suited to Continental legislation.

This high and false estimate of the importance of theatrical representation was never so generally adopted in England as on the Continent. The English government never ventured to apply the public revenues to the support of the theatres. A large proportion of the people of England were always too religious—a still larger too busy, too industrious, too domestic in their habits, too economical of their time and money, to value theatrical representation above its worth as a moral or beneficial influence in society; and none, either among the governing class or the governed, were ever sunk so low in their sense of right and justice, as to attempt or permit the misapplication of the public revenue derived from their taxes, to the building and supporting of places of amusement for the wealthy inhabitants of the capital. There are, however, in England not a few of an old and expiring

school who lament the decline and fall of dramatic taste and production among us, the total neglect by the public of what they call the "legitimate drama," the want of interest in our degenerate days about theatrical business or gossip, or even about first-rate acting in first-rate plays, and who seriously consider this apathy about stage affairs as an indication of some portentous decay in the moral and intellectual condition of the English people. What may be the true cause of this undeniable change among us, in the public estimate of the pleasure or value of theatrical representation? It cannot be denied that with us, in the present age, theatres are empty buildings, actors a neglected people, and the stage, with all its assumed importance as a means and test of civilisation and a great social power, a thing forgotten and scarcely heard of beyond a small uninfluential circle. The subject is curious. This decadence of the theatre seems to be somehow connected with the moral, intellectual, and industrial progress of the people, and an indication of their advance, not of their decline, in intellectual pursuits and enjoyments. What may be the causes of this general decay of theatrical amusement? It is advancing so rapidly that in another generation, if there be no reaction, theatres—at least the self-supported—will cease to exist. The subject deserves consideration. Shakespeare composed his plays between 1590 and 1614. About 220 years divide the age of Hamlet and King Lear from that of Jack Shepherd and Jim Crow. These dramatic pieces are unquestionably the exponents of the dramatic taste and production of their respective times. It cannot be denied, that each is the type of that kind of dramatic representation which, in its day pleased and satisfied

the play-going public. We cannot, however, persuade ourselves that, during these eleven-score years, the public mind in this country, and its civilisation, have been going backward in proportion to the undeniable decay of its drama—that the taste and feeling for the natural, the good, the great, in human action, the quick sympathy with distress and woe, the keen sense of the ludicrous, the lively pleasure in marking character gradually unfolding itself through the incidents of a well-imagined story, are less intense in England now than in the days of Queen Elizabeth—that they have been worn out, and that now, in the nineteenth century, the public mind has come to its second childhood—to Punch and Judy. We rather question the infallibility of the test, than the reality of the advance of the moral and intellectual state of England during these two centuries. The measuring-tape which poets, critics, actors, and philosophers of the French court and school apply to measure the growth of the child may, perhaps, be too short to measure the full stature of the man. Here we are, at any rate, in an age not remarkably deficient in cultivation of mind, not remarkably indifferent to the enjoyment of pleasure intellectual and physical, not remarkably poor, nor remarkably stupid, yet with its theatres falling into ruins, its dramatic representations addressed, not to the heart or understanding, but to the eye and ear, and totally disregarded if they attempt any higher and more intellectual objects than pageantry, music, ballets, operas, which may delight the child, or the classes of society still in the childhood of mind—the very lowest and the very highest—but are unintelligible to, and, as rational amusements, repudiated by the great body of the educated and intel-

lectual of modern society. This remarkable direction of the public taste and mind, so opposite to the theories of the last generation on the importance and influence of the theatre on modern civilisation — so opposite to the speculations of the literary men of the last century, and of many of the present times, on the social value of a wide diffusion, by state means, of a taste for all the esthetic arts, music, painting, architecture, and theatrical representation, as civilising intellectual influences with which the public should be inoculated by act of Parliament and by profuse grants of public money, is one of the most important of the intellectual phenomena of the age. It belongs to a branch of statistics — the progress of the public mind in Europe — scarcely less important, although less noticed, than the progress of the national wealth, population, or material interests of a country.

On the Continent, the faith in the old French notion of the value of theatrical representations as a social influence, still prevails. The stage and state abroad are as closely connected as the Church and state with us, and on the same principle — the belief that the theatre is a potent social influence, which the government alone should wield. The exaggerated importance attached to theatrical representation on the Continent, may be judged of by any man of common sense who reads the memoirs of Göthe, or any of the eminent literary men of Germany, and it is displayed in all its absurdity by the Almanac of Von Wolf, for 1840. In that year, Count von Rederen was minister of state for theatrical affairs at Berlin, a formal appointment among the ministers of the time. The privy counsellors, Esperstedt, Weiss, Slawinsky, and Carl Blum, were of the board of directors; and

under or connected with the board were thirty-six other functionaries. Our East India Company has not a more complete organisation for the government of its affairs. All this "much ado about nothing" gives a lively picture of the functionary system. This body of idle functionaries, living by the superintendence of the theatre, is altogether exclusive of the actors, actresses, singers, musicians, dancers, and other performers belonging to the theatrical corps itself. They are government functionaries. Germany has the benefit of sixty-five fixed state theatres, besides the licensed occasional theatres in country towns, and of 1224 male actors, 917 female, 622 male singers, 623 female, 219 male ballet dancers, and 229 female, and in all of 3834 persons on the stage, besides tradesmen, scene-shifters, and candle-snuffers, to disseminate the civilisation and morals of theatrical representation. The profession itself is much more highly considered than in our more busy country. The members of it who have attained a permanent position, that is, an engagement in the state theatres, are better off than actors in England. They have pensions on retirement from old age or ill health, and are allowed, without loss of pay, to retire on furlough for a few weeks occasionally; and a pretty sharp discipline is kept up by the superintending government, maintaining regularity, propriety of conduct, and respectability of character, among the lowest members of the profession.

The most flourishing period of the stage in England, in a pecuniary view, was probably in the first ten years of this century, when the country was filled with troops, militia, and volunteers, drawing pay, and spending money in every small town, and a bustling

military spirit prevailed throughout the land. Every county town at that time had a visit, for part of the year, from a theatrical company. Theatres were good properties in such towns as Dover, Canterbury, Chester, and in some of minor note. The judges were not more regular in their circuits and assizes, than the managers of these itinerating companies. Country gentlemen, in those days, considered it a kind of educational duty to their families, to give them an opportunity of seeing two or three good plays every season at the county town. Strolling players, from the single family, or individual spouter of dramatic poetry, to the pretty full and well appointed troop, supplied the still smaller towns and villages with theatrical representations; and a considerable body of people, although never equal to the theatrical corps of Germany, made a living by the taste of the public for the drama. If this taste fell off suddenly to its present very low state, towards the conclusion of the war, it cannot be ascribed to the want of able actors, tragic and comic, to support and keep it alive. Siddons, Kemble, Farren, Jordan, O'Neill, Cooke, Kean, Bannister, Munden, Suet, and many more than I can enumerate or remember, of distinguished excellence in their several departments, were either contemporaries on the stage, or in quick succession to each other, at the very period immediately preceding its downfal. The highest talents and acquirements ever applied to dramatic representation in any age or country, were in full activity, and not a few of the most eminent performers, the two Mrs. Siddons, John Kemble, Miss Farren, Miss O'Neill, were individuals moving in the highest and most select circles of the good, the educated, and distinguished of the land,

conferring honour, rather than receiving it, by their virtues, accomplishments, and estimable private characters. Yet even in their days the theatres began to totter. The want of a play-going public began to be complained of. Empty benches too often echoed back even the tones of a Siddons; and when the cluster of great performers who were coeval with the Kemble family on our stage, gradually disappeared from the scene of life, the British theatre fell — fell to what it now is, and naturally should be, an affair for pleasing the eye and ear — for gratifying the taste for the beautiful in what addresses itself to the eye and the ear, when these organs are cultivated and refined, but having no moral weight or worth, no influence in modern society, and no necessary connection with the higher intellectual acquirements of educated men.

Ingenious conjectures have been made on the cause of this obvious change and remarkable decline among us of the public taste for dramatic representation. Some would account for it simply by the change of the hours at which families of the upper classes now in general dine, in consequence of which, their attendance at the theatre interferes with their domestic arrangements and habits. But this is a change in names rather than in hours. The late dinner of our times is the supper of the times of Charles II., when, according to Pepys's Memoirs, it was an important part of the business of life with the most seriously occupied men, to attend the theatres. The social amusements and domestic habits of the upper classes interfere even less now with play-going, if they were so inclined, than at any former period. Gentlemen do not now sit all the evening over their wine, and the perpetual rubber at whist is no longer the family occupation,

night after night, all the year round. Others account for it by supposing that the managers of our great theatres corrupted the public taste by pageants, pantomimes, and shows which could only amuse the vulgar, and thus made all amusement of the theatre vulgar in public estimation. But managers follow, and do not lead, the public taste. If coronation processions, the real elephant from Exeter Change, Van Amburgh and his lions, Tom and Jerry, and Jim Crow fill the houses, and Hamlet and Macbeth, and all the talents of Macready or Kean, are expended on empty benches, managers cannot be justly blamed for gratifying the public taste as they find it. These are the consequences, not the causes, of some great change in the public mind and in the social and intellectual condition of the people. The causes probably lie deeper.

In all theatrical representation two very distinct elements are involved, the dramatic and the histrionic. These are not necessarily connected, although, in estimating the value of the stage or the merit of the actor, the excellence of the drama is always mixed up with the excellence of the representation, and the joint value of the two is usually booked off to the credit of theatrical representation. The drama conveys to the mind fiction clothed in the garb of reality, sentiments, feelings, actions, combined by the highest efforts of poetical genius into one display of character, passion, and nature; and no production of the human mind is so rare, so difficult, so morally and intellectually great, as a great drama. But the impression intended by the great dramatist, the meaning, sentiments, feelings, passions, and actions of the personages of his drama, may be conveyed, in our times and social state, from

mind to mind—from the mind that conceives and expresses, to the mind that receives and is to be impressed—by other and, in our advanced state of intellectual culture, by much shorter and more efficient means than the histrionic art in acting or theatrical representation. The diffusion of letters, of habits of reading and of receiving ideas by printed instead of spoken words, has entirely superseded the necessity or use of exhibiting to the mind, through the tedious machinery of theatrical representation, the *ipsissima corpora*, as it may be called, of the ideas, sentiments, passions, feelings, and actions to be conveyed by the great dramatist. The decay of the theatre is, in reality, a proof of the advance of the public mind. It shows the progress of education among the European people more clearly than any other indication. In rude ages, law, religion, government had to express themselves by representation on the same principle as the drama. There was a hieroglyphic language used in all human affairs. The delivery of a sod, of a twig, of a stone, represents, at this day, in ancient forms of law, the delivery of landed property. "Among savage nations," says Gibbon, in chapter xliv. of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," "the want of letters is imperfectly supplied by the use of visible signs, which awaken attention and perpetuate the remembrance of any public or private transaction. The jurisprudence of the first Romans exhibited the scenes of a pantomime; the words were adapted to the gestures, and the slightest error or neglect in the forms of proceeding was sufficient to annul the substance of the fairest claim. The communion of the marriage life was denoted by the necessary elements of fire and water; and the divorced wife resigned the bundle of

keys, by the delivery of which she had been invested with the government of the family. The manumission of a son or a slave was performed by turning him round with a gentle blow on the cheek; a work was prohibited by the casting of a stone; prescription was interrupted by the breaking of a branch; the clenched fist was the symbol of a pledge or deposit; the right hand was the gift of faith and confidence. The indenture of covenants was a broken straw; weights and scales were introduced into every payment; and the heir who accepted a testament, was sometimes obliged to snap his fingers, to cast away his garments, and to leap and dance with real or affected transport."

The use of rude symbols to supply the deficiencies of a rude language and an uncultivated mind, the theatrical representation of the realities themselves or their material resemblances, in order to convey and impress the meaning, appear common to all nations in an early uncivilised state. The jurisprudence of the first Romans, and the importance of the symbolical forms of proceeding in which the least error or neglect was sufficient to annul the substance of the fairest claims, is precisely the jurisprudence of the early Scandinavians, as we find it in the "Saga" and the "Icelandic Graagas." The stick burnt at one end and tinged with blood at the other, sent from hand to hand through a Highland glen, or a war-arrow split into four parts and sent out to the four quarters of the land, to gather men in arms to a common centre for warlike enterprise, were, to a late period, the means used, in the Highlands and in Scandinavia, for giving intimation to the people, by the representation of material objects, that they were to assemble with weapons for military duty under their government.

In every age and country religion has been taught, in the infancy of human mind, by the representation of material objects for conveying and impressing spiritual truths. Idolatry has had no other origin than the natural deficiency of language among men in a rude and uncivilised state, the natural want of words, in such a state, to convey abstract ideas, and of any other means than images, representations, and physical objects to transmit from mind to mind the religious conceptions, which even spoken and written languages in the highest state of cultivation, and rich in words and expressions delicate, yet defined in meaning, are scarcely able to transmit among civilised and educated people. Ceremonies, processions, images, pictures, crucifixes, altars, and all the scenery of worship, were originally, in fact, a kind of language; and, in the early ages of the Church, when Christianity was only listened to by the most ignorant classes and was repudiated by the educated, a very needful kind of language. Intelligence was wanting, and language was wanting, and the mind in such a social state received ideas and sentiments better by the eye than by the ear or by the understanding of language. The senses had to be impressed by the material representation. The means were suited to the mental condition of society, and to the deficiency of the language of a rude uncultivated people. It is absurd in our missionary societies and missionaries to declaim, as they do, against the idol-worship and idols of the heathens, either in past or present times, without considering that the mental condition of these heathens, and their language which is the exponent of that condition, admit of no expressions of religious ideas or sentiment by words, possess no abstract ideas or equiva-

lent words, and that they could have had no religion at all without first having had the impression through the medium of material objects, symbols, idols, and representation—theatrical representation in fact, or, at least, its principle. In a much more advanced state of society, of language, and of intellectual culture, we still find material objects, representations, and ceremonies resorted to, for conveying religious ideas, devotional feelings, and spiritual impressions. As education advances, mind is unfolded, language enriched, and the necessity, importance, and estimation of the material, ceremonial, and, as it may be called, histrionic principle in religion, decline, and the value and use of the purely spiritual principle in religion advance. It is in South America, in Portugal, in countries, localities, and classes of society to which the influences of education and social movement on mind and language, have scarcely yet extended, that the religion of the middle ages, the processions, holy images, relics, and all the machinery of the representation principle, still flourish. These means of religious edification are no longer suited to the educated of the Roman Catholic countries in Europe, and are falling everywhere into disuse and contempt. It is also among the least-educated populations and classes in modern society, it is in the great commercial cities of New York, Liverpool, Hamburgh, in which business and labour of routine abridge mental culture, or in military cities, Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, in which duties of routine have the same effect on the mental culture of great masses of the inhabitants, that theatres still flourish, and the histrionic art is in some esteem, or at least draws out a lingering existence. The less perfect mode of mind

acting upon mind, is, however, gradually giving way before the more perfect. There is no more danger of Popery, Puseyism, or any other form of ceremonial religion founded on the principle of material or theatrical representation, becoming predominant in modern society, than of educated people conversant with language going back to the use of symbols, signs, and gestures, to express their sentiments. The ceremonial Church and the stage have both sprung from the same root, and have flourished and are decaying together; not because the root, the representation principle, common to both, was in itself false or unsuitable in the ages when mind and language were in a rude uncultivated condition, but because society has outgrown that condition, and has now got the capacity and means of drawing religious instruction direct from the Scriptures, moral and intellectual instruction or amusement direct from books, and requires no longer that the mind should be addressed through the organs of sense, and by scenic representation, either in churches or theatres.

The steps by which the public mind in Britain has made this advance in our times, may be clearly traced by those who remember the beginning of the present century. The events of the war made fiction dull. All men were under excitement, were deeply and personally interested in every event, in every success or defeat of our arms by sea or land, in every act of our government; and read, considered, and discussed the news of the day much more eagerly than in ordinary times of peace. The war was the great schoolmaster. The demand for information produced a supply, newspapers multiplied, and the public mind was extended, exercised, and perpetually engaged on subjects of the

highest interest. Political journals were followed by other periodical works, and a literature for all capacities and degrees of knowledge arose among us. Circulating libraries, reading-rooms, book clubs, became as common as bakers' shops, and food for the mind was in general request. The novels of the school of Charlotte Smith and Miss Burney were followed by the romances of the school of Mrs. Radcliffe. The novels of Sir Walter Scott filled up the supply to imaginative readers, of all that the drama had ever yielded to them of amusement, either in genteel comedy, romantic tragedy, or historical plays. The many only read for amusement, and find amusement in whatever makes no demand upon their patience, intelligence, or comfort. This was the class which filled the theatres. They soon discovered that it was much less comfortable, amusing, and cheap to sit with their families in a theatre, always too cold or too hot, for six hours, at the expense of a guinea, and wearied to death with the pauses between the acts, and the noises and interruptions, than to read or listen to a dramatic tale at their own firesides, at the cost of a penny a night, and which the circulating library in the next street can supply in countless numbers suited to every taste and capacity. Play-going was, perhaps, at best an exotic fashion in England, introduced and supported rather by the affectation of following the fashion of the court, than by any impulse from the habits and character of the people. When other means of intellectual enjoyment, and the education to use those means, became common, the English people fell back upon their national, and in their climate natural, domestic habits of enjoying the evenings and nights at home, in doors, and at their own fire sides.

In Scotland play-going was always, like fox-hunting or horse-racing, an amusement foreign to the character and habits of the people. The theatre has had no influence, the fine arts no share in the formation of the public mind and character of the Scotch people. Their intellectuality and civilisation owe nothing to the brush, the chisel, or the fiddlestick. Do they stand in a remarkably low intellectual, moral, or social state, compared to the nations which have had all the theatrical and esthetic influences educating and civilising them; compared, for instance, to the Bavarians, Italians, Prussians, French? Munich, Naples, Berlin, Paris, where the fine arts and histrionic representations are most generally cultivated, esteemed, and enjoyed by the people, and encouraged by their governments at the most lavish expense as the basis of civilisation, are notoriously in a lower social condition, more debased by ignorance, idleness, and vice, than any of our great cities. A people of amateurs and artists are, no doubt, excellent subjects for autocratic governments. All the petty gossip about new operas, great performers, theatrical novelties, shows, paintings, statues, music, occupy the public mind, to the exclusion of public interests and social duties, and of the exercise of private judgment on public affairs. All is left to the state functionary. In Italy, Germany, France, Denmark, Sweden, in every country, great or small, in which the public mind is cultivated on the esthetic principle, that is, by the diffusion of the fine arts and of a general taste for them as the means of civilisation, we find freedom, constitutional government, and the influence of public opinion, in an inverse ratio to the diffusion of taste and attainments in those fine arts. This formation of the pub-

lic mind on the esthetic, may suit the absolute irresponsible governments, and the half-military people of the Continent; but the civilisation formed on morality, religion, freedom, civil rights, free action, and industry, is most suitable to our social state. The soft waxen character of the German people, receiving every impression, romantic, mystic, full of deep feeling and enthusiasm about trifles, and regarding with apathy and indifference real social interests, civil rights, and public affairs, seems closely connected with their education on the esthetic principle, with the refinement and civilisation of the fine arts carried to excess in their schools and domestic life. The naturally deep-thinking independently acting character, which belongs to the German people, has been refined away. One excitement or novelty of the day drives away another. It is Ronge and Czerski, and their German Church, succeeded by Presnitz and the cold water cure, followed by Antigone, or Taglioni the dancer, or Jenny Lind the singer, or the Reichsverweser and a German navy, German unity, and the Danish war, that occupy these powerful thinkers and feeble doers; and subjects are taken up in turn with a kind of enthusiasm, and are dropped again as suddenly and as unaccountably as they are taken up. The esthetic merit eclipses in the public mind of our Saxon brethren all other merit. Whoever reflects on the social and political evils, the want of freedom of mind, person, and property, patiently submitted to by the German people in the most cultivated, educated, refined, talentful, and tasteful countries, such as Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, will think that the development of society may be stationary, or even retrograde, under the widest diffusion of

this kind of education and character, and comparing the social condition of our country with that of the Continent, will come to the conclusion, that the mind of a people educated and exercised in the ordinary business and duties of life on moral and religious principles, carries civil liberty and just social arrangements along with its advance; and educated and exercised in esthetics which have no relation to social interests or real affairs, is prepared by false views of the importance of objects, and by effeminate habits of thinking, and acting, and living only for amusement, to submit to any misrule or social evil that does not interfere with the individual's personal gratification of his amateur tastes. The German commotions of 1848–1849, the want of sober common sense in the objects and views of the public, and of the leaders of the public mind, the excess of enthusiasm for impracticable ends, and of apathy and indifference for the attainable and needful, justify the conclusion that the too great cultivation of the esthetic in Germany is a great misfortune to society; is a very inefficient education for thinking and acting; is ornamental rather than useful in its results; and is not a kind of intellectual cultivation suited to the character and social condition of the people of England.

CHAP. XV.

NOTES ON GERMAN WATERING-PLACES.—MANNERS.—ROAD TO THE TYROL.—SIMILARITY OF THE TYROL AND NORWAY—BUILDINGS —PEOPLE.—KREUT.—INNSBRUCK.—LANDECK.—MALS.—MERAN—BEAUTIFUL SCENERY—PICTURESQUE COSTUME.—MIXED RACES AND PURE RACES OF PEOPLE.—THE SILK CULTURE—ITS EFFECTS ON THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH—ITS INFLUENCE ON THE SOCIAL STATE OF THE MIDDLE AGES—STILL OF BENEFIT AS A THIRD INDEPENDENT POWER BETWEEN THE AUTOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS OF THE CONTINENT AND THE PEOPLE.—THE PRUSSIAN CONCORDAT WITH THE POPE—ITS FAILURE AS A USEFUL OR PEACEFUL AGREEMENT.

EVERY German must repair, for a few weeks in summer, to some watering-place, to wash his inside or outside with celebrated water. It is, in modern Germany, what pilgrimages were in former times; a satisfactory excuse to one's self for doing what is agreeable. The distant shrine and its miraculous effects are sought for now only by the lowest of the poor and ignorant, the third class passengers on the railway of life; yet the man of the higher classes hastening up or down the Rhine, to Baden, Wiesbaden, Homburg, or Emms, need not look with scorn at the bands of pilgrims he meets along the Rhine, on their way to the shrine of the Three Kings at Cologne, or of the Holy Coat at Treves. He is engaged himself in a pilgrimage much less spiritual, quite as absurd and ineffectual, and much less respectable, in so far that he is seeking the inferior objects, bodily health and

recreation, through ease, pleasure, and good living, and they are seeking salvation according to their ideas of religious duty, through privation and endurance. The class of people in Germany, who frequent the *Bads*, is lower in social station than that which fills our watering-places. A man with us must be in easy circumstances, or well up in the world, before he thinks of going to Bath, Cheltenham, or Brighton, without some serious illness compelling him. Here, the watchmaker will leave his shop to go to a *Bad* for a few weeks. The expenses are moderate and fixed by tariff, the *table d'hôte* levels all distinctions founded on the mere expenditure of the visitors, and the tradesman or family of the middle class is not exposed to extravagant charges or supercilious treatment or remarks at a German watering-place. It is from the many, not from the few, that the hotel keeper lives in those large and crowded establishments; and one of the many is quite as well treated as one of the few, which is very different from the way of our English inns or hotels. The manners, also, of all classes in Germany are so nearly the same, that there is no incongruity in their mixing together. All, from the prince to the shoemaker, are what our dainty gentry would call slovenly livers, dirty feeders, and insensible to the disgust they may give by habits confined, among us, to our lowest and most roughly bred classes. Spitting all round a room, picking their teeth at meals with the knife, licking it, and thrusting it into the butter or cheese, and such petty abominations, show that there is not that marked difference in those small observances of delicacy, and of regard for the feelings of others, in manners and behaviour, which distinguish the gentleman from the non-gentleman in our population. At table, or in the

habits and usages of living, the artisan or tradesman, in Germany, is quite as nice and gentlemanlike as the count or baron; or rather, the count or baron is quite as coarse and vulgar as the tradesman or artisan. This want of habitual refinement or consideration for others, and want of respect for one's self in the small matters of manners and ways of living, this want of consideration of what may be disagreeable or disgusting to one's neighbours, is a great defect in the German character. It obliges even the best-educated and most estimable German gentlemen, when they travel in France or England, to put on a refinement altogether foreign to their every day habits at home. On this account, the Germans make the worst of travellers. They set out with a lower standard of manners and habits of living than that of the same class in the countries they visit. It is owing to this want of innate or habitual taste in manners and mode of living with themselves, which gentlemen of the same station in other countries are bred up with, that men of rank, education, and fortune, from Germany, are very often scarcely tolerated in ordinary lodging-houses, and are very rarely at home and at ease in English families of the same class as themselves, or often very inferior to themselves in all essential distinctions. They return home astonished, disappointed, and full of wrath; because their real merit and importance had not been appreciated by the English people. The reason is, that an English family, especially the female part of it, is excessively fastidious and over-nice about all the minor morals, as they have been called, of manners and habits. A German gentleman fuming tobacco from every pore, hawking and spitting incessantly, all over the floor, telling you in more ways than one that he is in a

sweat, sticking his fork or spoon into a dish after he has had it in his mouth, is rarely welcome a second time in an English family of the class of society he really belongs to by birth, education, and fortune. When he is obliged to renounce these little practices not conformable to English customs, he is playing a part not habitual to him, assuming a refinement in society foreign to his usual hereditary habits; and he hurries to his inn or lodgings, where he can smoke, spit, belch, and unbutton himself and lounge half-dressed in his bed-gown, and be as gross in his own company as he pleases. One half the coldness, haughtiness, and distance of manner imputed to the English, both at home and abroad, by German travellers and writers, arises from this difference of refinement or taste in the ways of living. Excess, perhaps, there is on both sides; the Englishman too delicate, refined, fastidious, too much of the silver fork school in his way of living —the German too self-indulgent, gross, and sordid in manners. Of the two, the habits and modes of living formed upon the consideration of what is due to others and to a man's own self-respect, are of the higher character, especially as they do not necessarily produce effeminacy. The hardihood, endurance of fatigue, and energy in acting, appear to belong eminently to the people who are the more refined and delicate in manners and ways of living.

The watering-place season had commenced at Munich, and all who had leisure and means were leaving the city. Few towns of the same moderate size enjoy so little of the advantages of the country. Fruit, even at the end of June, is scarce in the shops and markets; and gooseberries, currants, and strawberries, are never abundant, the soil and cold raw climate do

not favour the production even of such common fruits; black cherries of poor quality from the Tyrol, are the principal supply of fruit. We were glad to leave Munich and its cold cheerless sterile plain, and did not reach a better country until evening. A plain, carrying thin crops of rye and barley, and studded with dirty dwellings huddled together in villages, is spread before the traveller on every side except one, on which it is bounded by a fine outline of mountains, showing vast beds of winter snow in the hollows. Tegernsee is a rather picturesque lake, on the bank of which a royal château, the residence of the Queen-Dowager, is not spoilt by the frippery of the palaces at Munich; it has the charm of fine natural scenery, which art has not attempted to improve. At Tegernsee the land, houses, and people, change character suddenly; the crops are good, carefully cultivated, and the small extent of each kind of crop—not, perhaps, above an acre or two together of one kind—shows that here again the land is divided into small properties. The houses are of wood, are clean, in good repair, and very different from the dens of stone about Munich, in which the cattle and horses are stabled on the ground floor, and the people live in the lofts above them. Here the houses are like the Swiss, or rather like the Norwegian cottages, being log-houses, each standing by itself on the grass, and surrounded by a family of smaller outhouses. Timber for building, principally pine wood, is evidently abundant near the hills; but the expense of carriage over bad roads, prevents its being used extensively for cottages on the plains. In the many wars in which the Bavarian flat country has been marched over by contending armies, the inhabitants naturally endeavour to dwell together in vil-

lages, to escape being pillaged by single marauders or small parties. In the hill country these scarcely venture to leave the high road, and the single house is comparatively safe.

The similarity between the Tyrol and Norway is very striking. The scenery of pine forests, narrow glens, torrents, lakes, and mountains, and the pasturage farms and small peasant estates, each with its detached dwelling, have the same appearance in both countries. The log-houses, too, the style of roof, the barns over the cowhouses, with a bridge up to them, the kind of wooden fence round the fields, the detached store-room on pillars, the gallery outside of the upper floor of the dwelling-houses, giving access to the upper rooms, the way even of drying the hay on poles in the field, are quite Scandinavian. The Tyrolese peasant himself is a counterpart of the Norwegian; it is, no doubt, the identity of circumstances in the nature of the two countries that produces this similarity. Both consist of long narrow valleys, and high rocky mountains, abounding in pine forests, giving pasturage for cattle or goats, but not adapted for sheep-walks, and giving but little corn land, and that scattered in patches too small to be connected in large farms. The climate is nearly the same, or perhaps worse, in the Tyrol, the general elevation of the land above the sea-level counteracting the difference of latitude, except in sheltered situations, in which the vine, the maize, and the productions of southern vegetation grow luxuriantly. The main body of the land, however, is less richly covered. Is it the near identity of physical circumstances, or is it some original connection of race between the Goths who invaded the Roman empire, and the Scandinavians, which has pro-

duced the remarkable similarity in usages, dwellings, and appearance of the people? Of the two populations, which is the better off? Vines, Indian corn, peaches, figs, and all the finer fruits, in the lower valleys, and pasturage and game in the mountains, as well as in Norway, should turn the scale of well-being on the side of the Tyrolese people; but the Norwegian peasant has his free constitution, his light taxation, his udal right to his land, his forests abounding in game which he is free to take without restriction from game laws, his fiords abounding in fish, his ready markets for whatever he can produce accessible by sea-carriage, and his good rich neighbours, Hamburgh and London, giving employment to the surplus population of the country in their ordinary honest occupations of seamen or woodcutters, instead of their going about, like the Tyrolese grinding music on barrel-organs in every market-place of Europe for a beggarly living. Norway has less to envy the Tyrol for than we might suppose from the difference of latitude.

Kreut is the name of a very large watering-place establishment in the Bavarian Tyrol, about a day's journey from Munich. It was built and patronised by the ex-king, and contains about 100 bedrooms; the water is saline, and is considered beneficial in liver complaints. Invalids may have goat's milk, pure mountain air, scenery beautiful and grand, and moderate charges; so that on the whole it is an excellent watering-place for any complaint: it is well frequented. "People," said the landlord, "come all the way from Triest to the waters of Kreut;" and he might have added from Paris and London, for every traveller stopping at this half-way house between Munich and

Innsbruck on the way to or from Italy, is put down in his book as a patient visiting the waters of Kreut, and reported to government as a proof of the increasing European celebrity of the waters. Alas for celebrity! nine out of ten of the watering-place visitors in other parts of Europe, would be at a loss to pronounce the name of Kreut. From Kreut to Innsbruck is through a delightful highland, or rather Norwegian, country studded with little farms and log-built cottages. The Aachen lake, and the pass through the ridge which divides the waters falling into the Iser from those of the Inn, are remarkably beautiful. Here Bavaria ends, and Austrian custom-house officers receive you. Many travellers complain of the vexatious search and delay at the Austrian frontier custom-houses. "Let every man," says Sir Walter Scott, "speak of the ferry as he finds it." Here we found no delay, no search; our word was taken that we had no merchandise, and our fee, or douceur, was refused with an air of dignity.

Innsbruck, which is the capital or chief seat of the provincial government of the Tyrol, is but a small country town, like Dumfries, situated like it on a rapid stream, the Inn, and surrounded by magnificent mountain scenery. Italian sometimes strikes your ear in the streets and at the *table d'hôte;* but a corrupt German is still the general tongue. The inns, all the way from Stuttgard, are much better up stairs than you expect from the entrance on the ground floor. That is used as a coach-house or stable, and is often a rendezvous for all the beggars and idlers of the town. You mount a very unpromising open stair in this coach-house place, and then only you come to the real house, with lobby, kitchen, *salle à manger*, and, upon

another floor, bedrooms; and all these are better furnished and more clean and comfortable than you could expect from the approach. The Goldene Adler at Innsbruck, is an inn of this description. There may be grander inns in the town; but it was from a window in the *salle à manger* of this inn that Andreas Hoffer, on the 15th August, 1809, addressed the Tyrolese peasantry, who had chosen him, as one of themselves, to be their leader. There is manly stuff in the character of the Tyrolese. When all Napoleon's personal doings will be but a stale and by-gone tale, the episode in his wars, of Hoffer and the Tyrolese peasantry defending their mountain-land against the command, persuasion, and threats even of their own hereditary rulers, yet without hope or refuge, will be read by posterity as one of the greatest of the moral movements of our times. That old spirit of loyalty and self-devotion to a cause deserted even by their own government, would have been thought extinct in our calculating reflective times, if Hoffer and these Tyrolese peasants had not shown that it still was burning vigorously in their country. It is very doubtful whether it would be advisable and wise, even if it were possible, to eradicate all the prejudices of a people, such as their nationality, loyalty, attachment to established opinions and forms. All public virtue, patriotism, self-devotion for the common good, all that men admire and in heart respond to as disinterested and great, is born and bred, cradled and nourished, in such prejudices. Eradicate nationality, loyalty, war, religious dissent, commercial competition, and with much undeniable evil you would certainly eradicate much more good than evil in the moral character of man.

Switzerland has no doubt many more show points than the Tyrol; but glaciers and mountains with perpetual snow, are the wonders of Nature, not her beauties. The traveller, after seeing both countries, would rather return to the Tyrol. The inhabitants, too, are more in accordance with the scenery of their land than the Swiss. The peasant of the Tyrol, in his own land, not the music-grinder, is of bold manly bearing, a man in every sense, with the impress of an open natural character in every look and gesture. The Swiss have been too long the ready servants of whoever will pay them, and want the appearance of self-respect and of the capability of elevated sentiment.

From Innsbruck to Landeck (which is a day's journey for a *voiturier*'s horses, and from Landeck to Mals, which is another, and from Mals to Meran, a third) is the most picturesque and interesting route of three days' easy travelling, which Europe offers to the traveller. The gorge dividing the sources of the Inn from those of the Adige, the Finstermunz pass, is considered the most picturesque of all the passes in the Alpine range. But who can describe scenery? Words do not, like colours, convey the same ideas of natural scenery to every mind. Description of scenery is painting in the dark. On this route the traveller descends, in a few hours, from naked rock with patches of last year's snow, and from grazing, or rather browzing, land for goats and cows, and spots of rye or oats —the vegetation of a northern latitude—to wheat, Indian corn, chestnut-trees, fig-trees, almond-trees, vines; in short, ten degrees of latitude would make no greater difference in climate and vegetation than a descent of a few hours, with a drag-chain on the wheels, in the Tyrol.

Meran is a little ancient town, once the residence of

the princes of the Tyrol, standing at the junction of a small river with the Adige, both rapid mountain torrents, and with some remains of towers and castles on the heights around it. These ancient works, the bridge, the monasteries, the antique streets of this out-of-the-way little capital, the primitive air about the inhabitants and their dwellings, and the fine athletic peasantry, in dresses very picturesque and of bright colours, make Meran a singularly interesting place. New things, and the spirit and fashion of modern times, seem not to have penetrated to Meran. Monks and priests, and peasants with gay-coloured doublets and leathern girdles, appear like an ancient race of men returned from the fourteenth century, to show themselves to the nineteenth. A fine idea it gives, too, of the old times, of the frank manly bearing of men to each other, and of the jolly substantial way of living. The peasant sits with his quart mug of wine before him, at the door of the public-house, not tippling for the sake of drinking—it is not in the wine to make such hale athletic fellows tipsy — but for the sake of conversation and jollity. The eating is as abundant as the drinking. There is an air of plenty about the people; and no wonder, for their country, the valley of the Adige about Meran, is a garden shut in by mountain walls from every pernicious blast, and open to the sunshine; and in this favoured spot, being a border spot between South and North, the luxuriancy of southern vegetation is united to the freshness of the northern; the land is not dried up, parched, and toasted to a brown crust, as the earth is in southern countries; but is green and bright, and as well covered as northern lands are in a fine summer; yet it carries maize, vines, almonds,

chestnuts, mulberries, and all the fine fruits of the South. The vines are not like the vines in France or on the Rhine, cut to the size and shape of gooseberry-bushes, by which the vineyard is not more picturesque or agreeable to the eye than a turnip-field. Here the vines are trained over trellises, sometimes over the high road itself for half a mile, so that you travel under a kind of arcade, in a chequered shade of leaves. A whole vineyard of some acres is raised as high as a man, on trellises, the roots and stem of the vine alone being at the ground; and between the stems, under the roof of the leaves, a crop of Indian corn is raised, and the land is bearing two crops at once, one of grapes overhead, and one of grain on the ground. The eye takes in, at one glance, the perpetual snow, the bare peak, the stunted vegetation of the high mountain, the gradually increasing green downwards, and the full vegetation, at last, of rich-leaved fig-trees, chestnut-trees, Indian corn, vines, and all the luxuriance of southern vegetation at its base. A lane near Meran, covered over like an arcade by trellises with vines giving a speckled shade on the ground and a cool obscurity, while all without was burning in sunshine, afforded a noonday walk not to be forgotten. The peasantry of the Tyrol are not the least picturesque of the objects in the landscape. Their dress is rich and gay, and each district seems to have its own hereditary fashion. About Innsbruck the hat is without brim, tall, and in shape like a flowerpot inverted, and is ornamented with several bands of bright-coloured ribbons, and generally with a bunch of flowers or a green sprig. About Mals and Meran immensely broad-brimmed felt hats are universally worn; and bright green vests with many rows of buttons, and

broad leather waist-girdles, knee breeches, stockings, and shoes with silver buckles, display to advantage their remarkably well made feet, legs, and athletic limbs. ' The dress is worn by the whole population; none, on a market-day, seems poorer or inferior. They are evidently, by their frank, manly, independent bearing, a population of small peasant proprietors; a set of hearty, jolly, open, independent yeomen, such as we have not even the shadow of in England or Scotland, and with very little extreme want or real poverty among them. The Austrian government may be bad and oppressive, but it evidently suits this people well.

This fine race of people must be a mixed breed. Their country, from the earliest invasion of Italy by the Goths in the fourth century, has been marched over, encamped in, and colonised or settled in, by every army of every country. It is, perhaps, to this mixture of races that the fine development of the physical powers of the human animal in this country, may be ascribed. To cross the breed is apparently the law of improvement in all animals—in man as well as in cattle. The Celts, the Germans, the old races of men, become decrepit and feeble in proportion to the purity of their descent. The Laplander is their type. He is probably of the most ancient, and certainly of the least mixed, of the European races. The same cause which has produced the diminutive horse of the Shetland Isles—the breeding in and in, as jockeys term it—the want of any admixture of other kinds, has produced the diminutive Laplander, and possibly the cretinism and other hereditary tendencies to deterioration in the secluded valleys of the Alps, in which strangers never settle, and where the

inhabitants intermarry among themselves from generation to generation. The mixed breeds of Celts and Saxons in England and the Lowlands of Scotland, are among the most powerful men in Europe, physically and intellectually. The pure breed, the native Highlander, Welshman, Irishman, is weaker and smaller. Races, as well as languages, are improved by admixture.

From Meran, following the Adige, the traveller comes to Botzen or Bolsano. In the days of the commercial prosperity of Venice, this was an important town, to which merchants from the North of Europe came to purchase the products of the East at its fairs. It is still a busy little place, with a great deal of cooper-work going on in it. In wine countries, the cooper's trade is always one of the most flourishing handicrafts, employing many people at all seasons. The wines of the valley of the Adige are pleasant, subacid, light wines; but tasting too much of the fruit for English palates.

The river occasionally overwhelms the land with a flood, carrying gravel over the soil and entirely destroying considerable tracts which before had been covered with an exuberant vegetation. This seems the misery, counterbalancing the happiness, of this fruitful valley. The river runs with such rapidity that, although navigable up to Solurn, between Botzen and Trent five horses are used to drag a small light boat against the current. The abrasion of the banks of soft soils by the stream, is an evil to which all alluvial land is exposed. An ingenious idea, although roughly executed, was in operation here, for preventing the current of the river from undermining and wearing away the banks of clay or loam. It is

the upper edge or surface of the waters of a torrent that abrades the banks containing it. The current at sixteen or twenty inches below the surface of the stream, does little or no injury to the bank, and it is only when the stream is rising or falling that damage is done to the bank at a higher or lower level. A long train of wooden troughs, like those of a common mill-lead, only boarded over on the top, was anchored to the bottom close to the banks, and was sunk by stones on the lid or top, by which it floated so deep in the stream that about sixteen inches in depth of the surface-water of the current passed through it, without touching the bank. The train of troughs being anchored with a sufficient length of chain, rose or fell with the rise or fall of the water of the torrent, and always took off the upper edge of the current to the depth of sixteen inches from the surface, and prevented it from coming in contact with the natural bank and abrading it, either by its friction or by the pressure of the main body of the stream against it. The idea appeared to me simple, just, and applicable to many situations on mountain-streams and lakes in Scotland in which *Haugh-lands*, or the fertile flat spots of alluvial land on the borders of the water, have often to be defended with piles or bulwarks of stone, against the abrasion or undermining of the banks, and generally with little effect.

Does it belong to the ridiculous or the sublime, to the meanness or the greatness of human destiny, that a large proportion of our race are occupied all their lives in breeding, feeding, and tending a very ugly disagreeable worm, and spinning and weaving its excrement into ornamental clothing? The cultivation of silk appears to have some kind of connection

with the condition of the people. The traveller the least observant must be struck on entering Italy, either from the Tyrol or from Switzerland, with the sudden change in the appearance of the people in the silk-producing country. Bolsano appears to be a dividing point in coming by the Tyrol into Italy, between a stout, well-clothed, well-off peasantry, and a poor sickly-looking population living in rags and apparent misery. Why should there be such a contrast between the apparent condition of the people of the upper and lower parts of the valley of the Adige? The soil is as good, the climate as good, and the government the same. This point of Bolsano seems to divide the peasantry who live by husbandry on their own estates, from those who live by the culture of silk, either on their own account or for a landlord. It is evident, whatever be the reason, that poverty and the silkworm dwell together. Why should this be so?

The raising of silk is rather a manufacturing than an agricultural operation. The planting, rearing, and taking care of the mulberry-trees, the plucking and carrying home of the leaves daily at the proper season, are all that properly belong to husbandry in the process. By the temporary employment given in feeding, tending, and managing all the non-agricultural work connected with the business, before the cocoons are fit for sale, a greater population than the land requires or can employ in its cultivation, is called into existence. They must depend upon a few weeks' work for a twelvemonth's subsistence. An additional value also is given to land by this valuable product, raised, as far as the land is connected with it, merely by keeping mulberry-trees on the farm; and this great secondary value makes land dear to those who would acquire land

merely to live on it by husbandry, and not to enter into the silk-raising trade. Raising silk also is a kind of lottery. The expenses of labour, fuel, transport, attendance, and of large premises of various kinds, are great and certain; but the price paid to the producer for his cocoons or raw silk is very variable, and his own success in rearing the worms is precarious. Such lottery-gains unsettle steady habits of industry and real thrift, and seldom add to the prosperity of the individual or well-being of a community. The population of wine-growing districts is, for this reason, always the poorest in Europe; and it is almost proverbial that the owner of olive-trees never thrives. We see, even at home, that farmers who are fishermen, fish-curers, manufacturers, or even cattle-dealers or corn-merchants, seldom make both branches of employment answer. The lottery of great gains without corresponding industry, is not favourable to the habits of the class or of the individual. The state of landed property is also different in silk-producing districts. The valuable product requires large premises and occasionally many hands, for breeding, feeding, cleaning, and tending the worms and storing the cocoons, and for carrying on the production of silk on a great scale. Spacious buildings, like the largest of our cotton factories, stud the face of the country, for carrying on this business, and show that great capital and much competition exist; and the tendency is necessarily to bring the land into estates held from the silk producers or mortgaged to them, and bound to the silk culture. Whatever may be the cause, the contrast is very striking, on crossing the Alps and descending from Switzerland or the Tyrol to the silk-producing country on the Italian side.

The traveller who has no partiality for Popery or Puseyism, and holds shaven crowns or shovel-hats, altars, crucifixes, and surplices, white or black, of silk or of serge, not very essential to salvation, or very worthy distinctions among Christian ministers, will yet look with a certain reverence and respect upon the pomp, pageantry, and magnificence of the once universal Church of Rome—these relics of her former power and grandeur still displayed in her religious ceremonials and machinery. He cannot forget that there was a time, extending over some fifteen or sixteen hundred years, when Europe contained only slaves and masters, serfs and nobles, and the Churchmen were the only third estate in the social body. They were not men of birth, privilege, or interest. The highest dignities and the greatest social and political influence were attainable in the Catholic Church, by men of the lowest as well as of the highest classes; and individuals rose to eminence and power by worth, talents, and learning. This Church-element was, in the early middle ages, the popular element in the social structure of Europe; the counterpoise to the kingly and aristocratic elements. In any true reading of history, the Church and her establishments, dependent upon the papal authority at Rome alone, and independent in their civil as well as their ecclesiastical affairs, of the sovereigns, nobles, feudal jurisdictions and institutions, and of the military anarchy and violence prevailing in every land, were the only asylums in which the spirit of freedom and of independence of mind, and the restraints of public opinion and religious feeling upon barbarian chiefs and men in power, the moral checks upon brutal despotic sway, were lodged, kept alive, and nursed to their present matu-

rity. Rome would have been what Constantinople is, and western Europe what Turkey and Russia are, but for the separation of the ecclesiastical from the temporal authority in every country of the Catholic faith, and the independence of this distinct Church power of the power of the state, its concentration in a sovereign pontiff at Rome, and its being upheld, not by arms and brute force, but by public opinion and a moral and religious sentiment or faith, allied, no doubt, to gross superstition, but still much more spiritual and intellectual than any other social influence of the times. Law, learning, education, science, all that we term civilisation in the present social condition of the European people, spring from the supremacy of the Roman pontiffs and the Catholic priesthood over the kings and nobles of the middle ages. All that men have of civil, political, and religious freedom in the present age, may be clearly traced, in the history of every country, to the working and effects of the independent power of the Church of Rome over the property, social economy, movement, mind, and intelligence of all connected with her in the social body. She unquestionably represented the public mind in all social action; and if she often abused her power as its representative, she always maintained the rights of her constituent to independence of the civil power, or state, in matters of religion. By nursing this spirit in the European people, the Church of Rome was herself the mother of the Reformation. It was the legitimate offspring of her own principle of existence. Without this spirit and principle of independence of the civil power in religious affairs, the efforts of Luther, Calvin, and Knox, would have been unavailing with the people in establishing the Reformation; and the

Free Church of Scotland shakes hands with the Church of Rome over this one great social and religious principle common to both—the independence of religious faith of all state power. Let no man contemn the Church of Rome as having been, from beginning to end of its history and social influence, a noxious or useless establishment. In the Greek Church no such reformation as Luther's can take place; because no such independence of the civil power as the Roman pontiffs claimed, made good, and infused in the mind and spirit of the people of western Europe, was ever conceded to, or inculcated by the patriarchs of the Greek branch of Christianity. We read history wrong when we swell with indignation at the arrogance, pride, and almost royal pomp, wealth, and power of the prelates in the middle ages, at the disposal of crowns and kingdoms, and at the humiliation and dethronement of legitimate sovereigns in the plenitude of their power, by papal decrees. We forget that these events, so common in the middle ages, were the subjugation of brute force, in barbarous times, to spiritual and intellectual influences in social affairs. Superstition, fanaticism, religious action of any kind, however unenlightened, degrading, and barbarous, is still intellectual influence, is still moral movement, however ill understood and ill directed, is still something higher and better than the mere submission to blind force—is something that exalts the man above the mere animal-serf or slave, responding, without reference to his intellectual nature, to the mere impulse of the command and the lash. The despotism of the East is founded on the union of the spiritual and civil power in the same hand, on the subjection of soul and body to the state-ruler. If the sovereigns of

western Europe had been heads of the Church as well as of the state, civil and religious liberty would have been extinguished, and with it all civilisation. Historians declaim against the inordinate ambition of popes and prelates, and the wonderful continuity of effort of all Churchmen in all countries, century after century, to obtain more and more power and influence for the Church and its head at Rome; but they forget that such ambition and effort would have been altogether fruitless, if not supported by some great social necessity, by some generally and strongly felt conviction in the minds of all men, that this power was beneficial to them in their social state, protective of their temporal interests and civil rights, and not merely beneficial to the order of clergy. An obscure impulse, a kind of instinct, leads men to support what is for their general social good, although the mode of its operating may not be clear to every mind. It was this instinctive impulse of the human mind to adopt the fitting and the good, and not merely a blind fanaticism or superstition raised by the clergy, that led every intelligent man, in those dark ages of despotism and anarchy, to side with the Church and to set up and support her power in every country, above and independent of the absolute uncontrolled power of physical force involved in the military feudality of the sovereign and nobles. We see, at this day, the want of such a third power in the social structure of some of the Protestant countries of the Continent. Those which had not, like England, Switzerland, and Holland, obtained some form of an effective constitutional government, or some general feeling in favour of it, before the Reformation, fell back, by the junction of Church and state in the hands of the sovereign, into

a lower condition as to civil and political liberty and rights than they were in before. Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and all the Protestant states of Germany are, at this day, in all that regards freedom in social action, freedom of mind and opinion, more enslaved than they were in the middle of the middle ages. The union of Church and state has established an irresponsible power in the hands of the sovereigns adverse to civil and religious liberty. This is clearly brought out by the different position of the Protestant and Catholic clergy in those countries. In Sweden and Denmark there are few or no Catholic clergy; but the established Lutheran clergy are employed as government-functionaries and overloaded with statistical returns, inquiries, and local business in their parishes which, however necessary to the state, are incompatible with the pastoral duties of the clergyman. The Roman Catholic priesthood would not submit, in any country, to such abuse of their time and proper functions. In Prussia, the two branches of Protestantism, the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, were squeezed into one a few years ago by the late sovereign. New forms of worship were imposed upon them by royal edict; coercion, imprisonment, military force, and quartering of troops on the recusant peasants, were resorted to, in order to force the ministers and people to receive the new service; and to resist this monstrous tyranny and persecution there was no Rome, no Vatican, no pope or head of the Church to appeal to. How different, in the same country, at the same period, was the exertion of the autocratic power of the same Prussian monarch over his Roman Catholic subjects! They had protection at Rome, and consequently in the whole Catholic world, against such arbitrary vio-

lence to the religious convictions and Church of his Catholic subjects. He could not even appoint to any clerical office independently of Rome, although he could, and actually did, imprison and dismiss Protestant clergymen, for refusing to adopt a new Church service which, as head of the Church and state, he composed and promulgated by royal edict.

Whoever considers impartially the historical events of ancient and recent times, will admit that the Church of Rome was, for many a dark age and hour, a beacon-light in the path of civil and religious liberty, shining far a-head through the universal gloom; and although now it is left far behind in the progress of mind and of society, and is dimmed by the rising dawn of knowledge and of civilisation, it is still useful, it still shows to arbitrary kingly power in Prussia, that there are restraints upon tyrannical interference with religious opinion and convictions.

The influence of the religious persecutions of the late king of Prussia in producing the general movement of Germany, in 1848, for constitutional government to limit such arbitrary acts of autocratic power, will be touched upon in a future Note. The attempt, by a Concordat with the pope, to bring the Catholic subjects of Prussia into some ostensible connection with, and subjection to, the head of the Protestant Church, and its total failure, is curious and instructive. It was not to be tolerated in an autocratic government that the sovereign who could, as head of the Church and state, impose a new liturgy and Church service on his Protestant subjects, and appoint or dismiss, reward or punish their clergy at his pleasure, could not even name a priest to a vacant dignity or office among his Roman Catholic subjects. A Con-

cordat with the late pope was therefore attempted, in order to give an equivalent power to the crown over its Catholic subjects.

If governments can be taught by example, the example of Prussia in this attempt at the settlement of a Concordat with the Vatican might be a useful lesson, a warning against the gratuitous interference of a state with objects of Church power, nowise connected with the legitimate objects of good government. To have no State-Church at all appears to be the only arrangement suitable to the present advanced condition of society and of the public mind on religious freedom.

The population of Prussia, like that of Britain, is mixed—Protestant and Catholic—in the proportion of about 5 Catholics to 8 Protestants. The total population of Prussia is 14,098,125 persons; of whom 8,604,748 are Protestants, 5,294,003 are Catholics; and Jews, Baptists, and a few Greeks, make up the balance. This proportion of Catholics is greater than in the United Kingdoms. In several provinces of Prussia the majority of inhabitants are Catholic, in others Protestant; but in none are the people exclusively Catholic or Protestant. The admixture of Catholics and Protestants in the population is similar to that in Ireland. By the division of the Continent among the allied powers, after the peace of Paris, Prussia obtained several important districts on the Rhine, of which the majority of the population was Catholic. A new division of the Prussian territories into Roman Catholic dioceses, with a suitable provision for bishops and cathedral-chapters, and an agreement of the government with the pope on these subjects, was thought necessary, although the necessity

was not very apparent; the Catholic Church arrangements being carried on without any reference to the state, or any agreement between the pope and the government, in the same way as in other countries of mixed population, as in America, Holland, England, Ireland, Scotland, in which Catholic and Protestant inhabitants live intermixed, with an equal protection of law for property, whether private or ecclesiastical, and an equal liberty to form and follow their own religious opinions, and to make suitable arrangements for them. It was, however, in the religious frenzy of the Prussian ruler considered necessary, for the restoration of Europe to its old social and political condition, to renew all the old ties with Rome which had been forgotten by the existing generation, and the celebrated Niebuhr was sent to the Vatican to negotiate a concordat with the pope. After long delay, this business was brought to a conclusion in 1820, and the concordat—the first between a Protestant sovereign and the pope—was signed by the king of Prussia, in the June of that year. Pius VII. issued a bull in July 1821, in the Latin and German languages, for the establishment, provision, and diocesan boundaries of Catholic archbishoprics and bishoprics in the Prussian kingdom, and which the king, by a cabinet edict of August of the same year, ordered to be formally proclaimed in his dominions. This bull, like others, is usually known and quoted by the Latin words it begins with, *viz.* "*De salute animarum.*" The Roman Catholic Church in the Prussian dominions received by this bull, two archbishoprics and six bishoprics, of which the territorial limits of jurisdiction were defined. The endowment for the two archbishops of Cologne and Posen, and for the bishop of

Breslau, was fixed at 12,000 Thalers each (about 1650*l.* sterling), and for each of the other bishops 8000 (about 1100*l.* sterling). The incomes of the inferior dignitaries of the Church in cathedrals and chapters, were fixed at from 800 to 1200 Thalers, or 110*l.* to 160*l.* sterling. With regard to the appointment to the highest ecclesiastical dignities the chapter elected, with the concurrence of the Crown in the person elected by the chapter; and by a papal brief the different chapters were enjoined to elect only such persons to the episcopal seats as were agreeable to the king. In the event of the king and chapter not agreeing as to the person elected, it does not appear how such a very possible dispute is to be settled, or whether the government has a *veto* on the appointment of an agitating prelate who might be troublesome or dangerous. The question is left as unsettled in this concordat as it was in the middle ages. The appointments to the chapters, or body of deans, prebendaries, and cathedral clergy, who are the electors to the episcopal seats, are vested in the pope, in the months of January, March, May, July, September, and November; and in the other six months the stalls falling vacant are to be filled by the bishop of the diocese, but with the approval of the sovereign. In these stipulations the Church has clearly the lion's share of the patronage. The electors of the bishops, the chapter, are appointed half by the pope, without any reference to the approval of the government; the other half by the bishop of the diocese, or, in other words, by the pope's substitute, with a reference, indeed, to the approval of government, but with no disqualification from non-approval, and no *veto* on an unsuitable appointment. This body of electors choose the bishop,

and are enjoined to elect only a person agreeable to the king. But there is no *veto*, no check upon the appointment of the bishops by this body of electors, laid down to protect the government from agitating bishops or bishops not agreeable to the king. The Prussian concordat is often mentioned, even by our members of parliament, as an instance of a Protestant government negotiating an agreement with the head of the Roman Catholic Church on ecclesiastical affairs, especially on the appointment of the clergy, and as a model for a similar arrangement or concordat with the pope for the Catholic Church in Ireland. But this Prussian concordat is an agreement in which nothing is agreed upon in those points on which ecclesiastical power and civil power require the strictest adjustment and most defined limits, to avoid collision and social discord. They are left as open and vague as if it had been a transaction with the Vatican in the middle ages. The concordat of the late king of Prussia is practically, as to the ecclesiastical and civil power, the same as that of Henry II. of England with the papal authority, after the death of à Becket. Before the end of the year in which this bull *De salute animarum* was promulgated, the archbishopric of Cologne and the bishoprics of Treves, Paderborn, and Munster were declined, no doubt by secret orders from Rome, by the ecclesiastics whom the Crown wished to appoint to those dignities. The archbishopric of Cologne was at last filled, in 1825, and with an additional endowment amounting to about 30,000 Thalers, or 4000*l.* a year, a residence, and other benefits. But, in spite of these soothing appliances, the spirit of the Catholic Church broke out on a point which the concordat ought to have adjusted and settled, and which it left unnoticed.

In mixed marriages, that is, the marriage of a Catholic with a Protestant, a case unavoidably of frequent occurrence in a mixed population, the Catholic clergy introduced a general rule that all the children must be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, otherwise the Catholic parent is to be deprived of all the Church ordinances and consolations considered essential, in the Catholic belief, to salvation. This was made a matter of conscience with the priests, and firmly insisted on; but it was an apple of discord in all social relations and families of a mixed population, and it was against the laws of the kingdom to impose such restrictions upon the parties to be married. It was a grievous oppression on parents who were married and had children, and was evidently not merely an encroachment upon, but must be, in the course of time, an extinction of, the Protestant religion in Protestant Prussia. This apple was the first fruit of the concordat by which an acknowledged *status* was given to the Roman Catholic Church in a Protestant country*, without any adjustment of this point on which the conscientious discharge of the Catholic priestly duties was incompatible with a Protestant government. The concordat appears to have purposely avoided any settlement of this question, which must necessarily arise in a country in which two distinct and antagonistic Churches are equally state Churches. The state may adopt one or the other, the Catholic or the Protestant, to be the state Church, or may more reasonably adopt neither, and have no state Church; but the state can-

* Pius VIII. issued a Brief, of 25th March, 1830, prohibiting the Catholic clergy in the western provinces of Prussia from celebrating mixed marriages, without the promise of the parties to educate all their children in the Catholic faith.

not connect itself with two so different, and in social action, influence, and interference with private life so distinct, and in the principle of such interference so opposed, establishments as the Protestant and Catholic Churches, without misgovernment and a perpetual oscillation according to the temporary whim of its rulers, and without sanctioning a grievous oppression, either on the freedom of religion and the domestic peace of families, or on the conscience of the priest. Where the Roman Catholic Church has no *status*, is no endowed state Church, as in America or in Great Britain or Ireland, this claim of the Roman Catholic priests to the religious education of all the children born in mixed marriages, is dormant. It was not heard of in Prussia until after their establishment and endowment as a state-supported Church, and their independence of their flocks for their means of living. The religious education of the children in mixed marriages was a matter of private agreement between the parents, as it is now in America, Ireland, England, and other mixed Catholic and Protestant countries. A voluntarily supported Churchman, whatever be his Church, must respect the social rights of those who support him. He must marry, baptize, confess, administer sacraments, bury, and perform all religious duties, without any conditions that are not purely religious, without conditions interfering with the rights of parents in their own domestic arrangements and family affairs, such as the religious education of children of mixed marriages. In a voluntarily supported Church, the priest refusing to perform the offices of the Church without those conditions—a refusal which now embitters the happiness of domestic life in a great part of Prussia—would have no con-

gregation or support. Other priests would be more accommodating, and the claim could not be enforced by religious compulsion. The embodied, connected, and endowed priesthood stands on a very different footing as to social power and interference from that of single unconnected priests in a country with no state Church.

The common law of Prussia, as of all the Continental states, prohibits extraordinary assemblages of the people under any pretext, political or religious. All religious meetings, even for prayer in private houses, are interdicted to Protestants in the Prussian dominions, and the parties punished by fine and imprisonment. With more reason pilgrimages to shrines at the distance of more than a day's journey, were prohibited, as a crowd of both sexes lodged promiscuously on these pious journeyings, and scenes of the greatest profligacy and indecency occurred among a multitude of the ignorant and idle just relieved, or about to be relieved, from all their past sins. But, according to the interpretation of the concordat by the Catholic clergy, the state had no longer a right to interfere with pilgrimages or religious processions. The Church only could interfere with the Catholic service in these branches of it; and, no doubt, by the concordat the state could not prevent them. The pilgrimage of a million and a half of people to the Holy Coat at Treves, in 1845, had its political meaning, and was, in reality, a defiance to government from the Church. The Prussian government did not, and under its concordat with the pope could not, interfere to put down a scandal dangerous to the public peace, hurtful to the morals of the people, and in direct contravention of the law of the land. The pope, or the Catholic Church in

Prussia, did not disavow the proceedings of the ecclesiastics at Treves who called out this illegal monster-meeting. There are no Orangemen fortunately in Protestant Prussia, or the state would have had to repress a war of processions, as the fruit of a concordat which admitted a power above the law of the country. It was not an equality of rights with the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches that was granted by the Prussian government through this concordat, but a power was conceded to the Roman Catholic Church to do, without control of the state, what was dangerous to the public peace in a population of mixed religions, and what the Protestant part of the community would not be allowed by the common law and police of the land to do. It was not freedom of religion and the abolition of all state Church connection; but it was a second state Church that was established by the concordat, and one which enters, in its religious requirements, too much into the relations of society, to exist with full Catholic power and rights as a state Church by the side of any branch of Protestantism, or in a liberally constituted government. It is not in mixed marriages only, or in processions, pilgrimages, and matters of faith, that the ecclesiastical power of the Church of Rome cannot be combined so as to work smoothly with the civil power in Protestant countries. There are various points affecting property, on which the two powers cannot co-exist. Persons in certain degrees of affinity to each other — as first cousins, or even of spiritual affinity only as sponsors, or godfathers and godmothers, for the same infant, or who have taken the ecclesiastical vows in any religious community — cannot marry without express dispensation; and their progeny, without

such dispensation for the marriage, would be illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting, according to the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church and the law of Catholic lands; and if by a concordat that Church is made a state Church as well as the Protestant Church, it would be very unjust that the property of the Catholic population should be regulated in questions of succession, by Protestant law which admits none of those disabilities to marriage. These are difficulties which no concordat can adjust; because the Church of Rome brings from the darker ages an interference in the civil affairs and relations of society as a religious right and duty of its priesthood, and which, however useful in the ages in which this power arose, is inconsistent now with the peace and good government of the social body in constitutional countries. In a country like Prussia without the complicated rights and interests connected with a mass of property invested in commerce and manufactures, and governed by different laws in different provinces, and by an arbitrary autocratic power above all law, many very ill-judged measures may be adopted; but these are not models to be followed by countries, like Britain or America, in a much higher social state.

CHAP. XVI.

NOTES ON FRANKFORT IN SPRING 1849. — THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT — ST. PAUL'S CHURCH — THE MEMBERS — PROPORTION FROM THE DIFFERENT STATES — PROPORTION FROM THE DIFFERENT CLASSES AND INTERESTS. — THE CLUB SYSTEM. — THE CLUB REGULATIONS. — THE MEMBERS REPRESENTATIVES ONLY OF THEIR CLUBS, NOT OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE. — CLUB OPINION NOT THE GENUINE PUBLIC OPINION. — CLUB REGIME INTRODUCED INTO ENGLISH LEGISLATION BY THE CORN-LAW LEAGUE — ITS DANGER. — THE CLUB-PARLIAMENT OF FRANKFORT — ITS WASTE OF TIME — ITS FRIVOLOUS DISCUSSIONS. — CAUSE OF THE FAILURE OF THE FRANKFORT PARLIAMENT — THE NEGLECT OF THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT. — THE MOVEMENT OF 1848 IN GERMANY TRACED TO THE SUPPRESSION BY THE KING OF PRUSSIA OF THE LUTHERAN AND CALVINISTIC CHURCHES, AND OF RONGE'S GERMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. — POLICY, CONDUCT, AND CHARACTER OF THE LATE KING OF PRUSSIA.

FRANKFORT is one of the handsomest towns in Germany; its streets wide, the houses spacious, and a movement of people, carts, and carriages seldom seen on the Continent in towns of moderate population. Frankfort contains about 60,000 inhabitants, and has more the appearance of a bustling English town, such as Oxford or Bath, than of a dull inanimate German city. Berlin, compared to it, is but a row of empty barracks on each side of empty streets, without a moving being in many of them, but a solitary sentinel on his post. Here there is a perpetual stir and bustle, yet there are no manufactures. Frankfort is the centre of the money transactions of a great part of Europe, is a great *dépôt* of goods bought, sold, or exchanged at her fairs; and, although not a manufac-

turing nor a commercial city importing and exporting on its own account, and without any apparent advantage in its situation, is one of the most opulent cities in Germany. There are all the indications of an opulent class living in Frankfort; carriages, horses, servants, and a belt of villas, country-seats, and gardens around the town. Yet the people of the labouring class seem not to partake in this opulence. They are but poorly clad in coarse home-made woollen or linen stuffs, and wooden clogs are worn by labouring people instead of shoes. The servant girls, seldom the most backward class in matters of dress, have not advanced generally to the use of printed cottons, shawls, and bonnets. The wardrobe of a male or female of the same class in England, and especially in Scotland where a Sunday suit of clothes is a necessary of life, and the want of it one of the privations of poverty very keenly felt, would sell for more, on an average, than the clothing of any three individuals in the same station of life on the Continent. Yet the people above the mass of the labouring population, all who belong to the upper class, dress more expensively, perhaps, than people of the same means and station with us. There is a gap between the higher and the lower *strata* of the social body, not in means of living and in dress only, but in ideas, habits, language, and ways of living and civilisation; and the gap is not filled up, as in our social body, by innumerable gradations of income, well-being, and intelligence, forming a middle class united so closely with the upper on the one side and the lower on the other, that it is impossible to lay the finger on any interval between them, and say, here the gold ends and the iron begins in the social chain. The established

financial operations of Frankfort on a great scale, its ancient hereditary right to have the coronation of the emperors of Germany within its walls, and the accommodation which its spacious mansions, inns, and public buildings could furnish at once to a parliament, a government, and all official departments of a state, give Frankfort a strong claim to be the future metropolis of the future empire of the 40,000,000 of German race and tongue, who are to be united under one central government, when this young Germany descends from the clouds and takes her seat on the earth. But Frankfort is too near the French frontier. The capital of a mighty empire of 40,000,000 of people would not be suitably placed where, in the event of a war with France, any dashing lieutenant of Hussars could give the majesty and wisdom of the united central power of the new German empire, an *alerte*, on a dark night, and return without obstruction. Frankfort, like Hamburgh and other ancient free cities, demolished her fortifications after the peace of 1815, and converted them into very beautiful walks and ornamental gardens for her citizens; but this anticipation of the wishes of the peace congress has turned out to be a policy more agreeable than wise. These independent cities, in 1849, could neither keep out, nor keep in, the hordes of vagabonds and free corps volunteers who were masters of their streets, and who afforded a pretext to Prussia to throw into them garrisons which will probably never be withdrawn.

Frankfort, in the spring of 1849, just before the removal of the parliament to Stuttgard, afforded many curious scenes. The conflict of political interests ran high; the news of the bloody tumults in Dresden

were made known by placards from hour to hour; and at every street corner stood a knot of idlers. Strangers in peaked hats, beards, cloaks of brown woollen with hoods, like the stage costume of Spanish muleteers—lads of twenty, half-stupified with tobacco-smoke—stalked about like the heroes of a melo-drama, pale, emaciated, and with a dissipated sottish look, representing, it was said, the red republicans. They appeared more fit for living and talking in an over-heated coffee-room, amidst the fumes of tobacco and Bavarian beer, than for service in the tented field. The inns were full of more respectable persons removing from the smaller towns in Baden; and many who had the means were removing to France or Belgium. In the large saloons of the inns—and owing to the great concourse of people at the fairs, they are on the largest scale—the noise of 150 excited politicians, the cloud of smoke from 150 cigars, the clatter of plates at the supper table, at which the guests were served *à la carte*, and amidst all this hubbub three or four ladies quietly sewing, knitting, or eating supper, as comfortably as if they were at home at their own firesides, made a curious scene to English eyes, ears, and noses.

St. Paul's church in Frankfort will take its place in history, as well as St. Stephen's in Westminister, but not exactly as high. The German parliament, the first, and probably the last, elected by universal suffrage to represent the whole Germanic population, and frame a united central government and constitution, sat in the Paulus Kirche, until June, 1849, when its remnant retired to Stuttgard, and expired in its own smoke. This church is a modern circular building of red freestone, standing in a small square

area, of which the Exchange forms one side. A porter mug, bottom up, would give a very good idea of its ground-plan, elevation, and proportions. It was not selected, certainly, for its architectural beauty, to be the seat of the German parliament; but the convenience of its interior makes up for the defects of its exterior. The British house of commons is not so comfortably, and roomily accommodated. The president's chair occupied the place of the pulpit; the precentor's desk was the tribune; and what may have been the elders' seat, was sufficiently capacious for the clerks and a table or two. Right, left, right centre, left centre, extreme right, extreme left, were divisions in the arrangement of the benches made by the necessary passages for the congregation to their seats. A circular gallery above admitted the public, and could accommodate about a thousand people. Below it, on the same level with the seats of the members, the ladies, the diplomatic corps, the reporters, and strangers with a member's ticket, or with that universal ticket a *gulden*, were conveniently seated. The chair was taken at a quarter past nine every morning, and the house seldom rose before two, and often had an evening sitting from four to eight or nine. What first strikes the traveller is, that all the members wore mustaches, beards, tips, or other hairy appendages of all dimensions and colours, which to the English eye, not accustomed to see gentlemen in such fantastic chin accoutrements, gave the assembly the appearance of a masquerade, or of a meeting of old clothesmen. Two eyes, a nose between, and a mass of hair below hiding all expression of the most expressive feature in the human countenance, the mouth, have the effect of a paper mask over the face,

or of an exhibition of wax figures. The most eloquent and impassioned public speaker, with the lower half of his face wagging up and down the bunch of hair attached to it, as he opens and shuts his mouth, appears too like the child's toy of Mr. Punch, with a moveable joint in the under jaw opening and shutting by a string, not to excite the risible propensities of the spectator from the shaven lands of Europe. These are trifles to remark; but as an indication of character, either in an individual or a people, affectation is no trifle. Weakness of character, and affectation of appearing to be what one is not, are most clearly shown in trifles. The majority of an assembly born and bred with beardless chins, affecting in manhood to appear like knights of the middle ages, as represented in ancient paintings, by wearing beards, mustaches, tips, and fantastic hats or caps, to give picturesque effect to their heads, do not convey to the observer of character the idea that these are men of real sound sense and independent mind, or that such fantastically dressed up imitative heads have much of their own inside of them.

This Frankfort parliament, after doing nothing for about fifteen months, died of imbecility. It is, however, a great dead fact in German history. It received, in 1848, the legitimate power from all the German states, to replace the diet of the confederation as established at Frankfort in 1816, and to form a constitution for all Germany as one united nation, with a strong central government. The members were elected by universal suffrage, with the consent of the local governments; and all the thirty-eight states of the German confederation, established in 1816, gave in their adhesion to this assembly. It represents un-

questionably the highest authority, as the state of the Germanic empire, and its power and rights cannot be abolished by any local diet or act of one of the states of the empire, nor, on legitimate principle, by any act of all the thirty-eight states, without a recognition of this Frankfort parliament, and a renunciation of its powers to an assembly similarly constituted. It deserves, therefore, some notice, although to appearance defunct; because in it is buried whatever vitality any assembly at Erfurt, or elsewhere, under Prussian auspices, can have as a diet or as a constituent assembly for all Germany.

The Frankfort assembly consisted, in February 1849, of about 558 members. Of these —

193 members were from Prussia,	6 members were from Nassau,
110 from Austria,	6 from Mecklenburg Schwerin,
68 from Bavaria,	5 from Luxemburg and Lemburg,
26 from Würtemberg,	5 from Oldenburgh,
24 from Hanover,	4 from Brunswig,
21 from Saxony,	4 from Saxe Weimar,
19 from Baden,	2 from Saxe Coburg Gotha,
12 from Hesse (the Duchy),	2 from Saxe Meiningen,
11 from Hesse (the Electorate),	2 from Altenburg,
11 from Holstein,	3 from the city of Hamburgh,

and of the remaining eighteen of the hitherto distinct independent states in the German confederation, established in 1816, one member was allotted to each. It does not appear on what principle the preparatory assembly at Heidelberg had proceeded, in alloting the number of representatives each state was to send to this German parliament; and the stirring events which followed fast upon each other, prevented any discussion, objection, or inquiry on the subject. If population was the principle, Prussia, with her 14,000,000 of people, had scarcely a fair right to almost double the number of representatives accorded to Austria,

with a greater population in her German dominions than 14,000,000. Holstein, with 300,000 inhabitants, or if Schleswig is to be taken into it, with 600,000, can scarcely have had a right to near half as many representatives as Würtemberg, Hanover, Saxony, or Baden, each of which reckons from 1½ million to 2½ millions of inhabitants. The principle seems to have been to give a preponderance to Prussian representatives, or those of the states on the Rhine, or in the centre of Germany, in which education in the schools and universities is established on the Prussian model, and under teachers and professors of one mind, regulating and guiding public opinion by the educational machinery in their hands in one direction on political subjects. The interests of the Prussian autocratic government were not the object in this excess of the Prussian element, but the influence of the class of educated men desirous of a change in the social arrangements of Prussia, as well as of other German states, and who were most numerous in the country in which the government and institutions were least suited to their requirements.

It cannot be said, that universal suffrage had collected together a number of representatives of inferior education, manners, or appearance, to the average of the gentlemen of the country. This was perhaps the first observation that occurred to any English traveller who entered the *Paulus Kirche* during the session of this Frankfort assembly. There was not one of the class of *Burschen*, or students; and not one even who appeared to belong to the class of peasant-proprietors, or of artisans, tradesmen, or dealers in the towns. As far as the impression given to personal appearance by education, intelligence, dress, and manners, can

guide the stranger, he would undoubtedly say, "These are the gentry of the country." There was no individual answering to the idea of the reckless adventurer, red republican, socialist, communist, of our journals and their foreign correspondents. Universal suffrage had certainly been acted upon with perfect good faith by the people, in electing their representatives from those situations in life in which the constituents have a right to expect integrity and knowledge. The fault in the construction of this assembly seemed to be the want of representatives of the lower and middle classes, the operatives and tradesmen of the towns, and the small peasant-proprietors. The composition of this assembly, the classes furnishing the representatives for all Germany, elected by universal suffrage, appeared to me more important than the political divisions among the representatives themselves, as indicating the relative social importance in the estimation of the German people, and in their social structure, of the different classes and interests in the social body, and of the influence of those classes respectively over the public mind and affairs.

It was one of the smart sayings of Madame de Stael, when she was queen of the literary world, and Frederick Schlegel was her prime minister for intellectual affairs—"That the French had the dominion of the land, the English of the sea, and the Germans of the air;" and the conceit went the round of Europe. This nebulous dominion, the intellectuality of Germany, had its full share of the representation in the Frankfort parliament. There were ninety-five professors, rectors of high schools, and teachers, and sixty-eight of these were real live professors of universities; also eighty-one doctors of philosophy, law,

or physic; fourteen journalists and authors by profession; and seventeen clergy; in all, 207 members of the house connected professionally with literature and science as their means of living. Of country gentlemen or landholders, including one or two counts, princes, and a few barons, there were ninety-three; of civil functionaries there were 212; of military officers, thirteen; of merchants, only twenty-three; and of manufacturers, only ten. The small proportion of representatives of the commercial and manufacturing interests, compared to that of the functionary and of the literary and educational interests, is sufficiently characteristic of the spirit of this assembly, and of the preponderance in all their transactions, of theory and extravagant schemes of aggrandisement, over practical knowledge and reform of existing abuses. The short *régime* of this Frankfort parliament was very aptly designated in the "Times," as an anarchy of professors.

The most remarkable feature in this German parliament was the unseen sub-machinery of clubs. It is of importance that this club-system should be understood; because, in France, as well as in Germany, it is the basis of those pseudo-parliaments called representative, or national, assemblies, in which nothing is represented but clubs and club opinions: and in our own parliament there is, at present, too great a tendency towards club-legislation. Every member of this Frankfort parliament was a member of one or other of six or seven clubs, established at different hotels, and distinguished from each other by various shades of political opinion. The club Milani (so called from the name of the coffee-house in which it held its meetings) was the club of the extreme right. It was

the first organised; and its programme, or declaration of principles and regulations, is dated in September, 1848. It declares, first, that the end and object of the national assembly is to frame a German constitution. Second, that this can only be accomplished by uniting with the governments of the single German states. Third, that with the exception of the constitution and the laws necessary for its establishment, it is not competent for the national assembly to issue laws for Germany. Fourth, that the national assembly should only exercise a constitutional control over the acts of the ministry, and not busy itself with interference in executive measures. The regulations of this club were adopted by all the others, however widely different in politics, and give an instructive view of the secret machinery of the system.

1st. Each member binds himself, before bringing into the national assembly any motion, amendment, or question, to the ministers of his own, to submit the same to the consideration of the club, to be debated upon; and if not approved of by a majority of the club at their ordinary meeting, to give up his proposed motion, amendment, or question. Any exception to this rule can only be allowed in unforeseen cases arising in the course of the proceedings while the national assembly is sitting, and then only with the consent of the president of the club.

2nd. The club will be united in voting in the national assembly, upon all isolated questions that may come before it, as much as possible. When, in a special meeting, or a meeting of half the club at least, two thirds of the members present declare a question to be a party-question, no member in the minority

shall speak or vote in the national assembly against the view adopted by the majority of the club, and its absent members shall be informed of the decision of the club upon the question.

3rd. For bringing forward the views and decisions of the club in the national assembly, both in open and in party questions, the club appoints beforehand the speakers from among themselves who are to speak in the national assembly on the question.

The clubs of the Casino, of the Landsberg, of the Würtemberg Hotel, of the Augsburg Hotel, of the West End Hall, of the German Hotel, of the Donnersberg Hotel, all differing from each other in shades of political opinion, comprehended all the members of the national assembly, from the extreme right, of which the programme is given above, to the extreme left, the club of the Donnersberg Hotel, of which the programme professes liberty, equality, fraternity. Its members adopt the theory of a social republic and the rights of labour, but repudiate communism. In this club, however, as in all the clubs of the left, from the Würtemberg Hotel Club to this, a good constitutional monarchy would, it was said, satisfy a majority of the members, although they were so widely distant in theory from monarchical government. The eloquence, and talents, and public favour, seemed altogether on the left side of the house. In all these clubs the three statutes, or regulations, of the club Milani, with regard to all motions, amendments, or questions being previously laid before the club, discussed, and approved of, and the speakers on it in the assembly appointed by the club, were adopted *verbatim* and acted upon. The arrangement appears, to our common English understandings, inconsistent

altogether with the duty and dignity of a representative, and with a sound constitutional parliament. The members, under those restrictions of their clubs, are, in fact, not representatives of the people, carrying the wants, interests, and views of their constituents to a parliament, and are not even representatives of their own opinions. They are only delegates of their clubs in voting, and organs of their clubs in speaking. These pseudo-parliaments, both in France and Germany, are but large clubs to which seven or eight minor clubs send their delegates, to harangue and vote, according to views, arguments, and opinions previously rehearsed. The character and position of the representative are merged in the club member. The representation of the people in this German parliament was but a theatrical show, got up and enacted the evening before in the different clubs; and all the arguments and speeches, opinions and votes, were prepared for the public exhibition at the private rehearsals in the clubs.

These clubs, it may be said, represent the public opinion, as by their numerous branches and affiliations in every town and city, they form a network over the whole population, and do, in fact, represent the people. It is no incongruity, therefore, it was alleged, that the member of the national parliament should be regulated by, and subservient to, his club, which is the depositary of the public opinion on the political questions it espouses. But this at the utmost applies only to the population of the towns and cities. The country population, and the great body of the middle and lower classes in the towns, can have no clubs to express their opinions by, and have no civil liberty to form clubs. The clubs are but a

vicious organisation of a minority, to give their views and opinions a greater appearance than those of a more tranquil majority. Public opinion and club opinion may coincide, but they are of very different origin and tendency. Club opinion, as we see in France, and as we saw in our Anti-Corn-Law League agitation, is manufactured in the metropolis by the mother-club, sent out by her to all her offspring in the country towns, sent by them to all their affiliations, and then returns to the parent-club with an appearance of prodigious force and diffusion, as the expression from all quarters of an universal public opinion, while after all it is but the opinion of a club or party widely diffused in appearance, by skilful arrangement and dexterity in the charlatanism of agitation. It may be right, and may coincide with the real public opinion, as in the case with us of the abolition of the corn laws. But it may also be wrong, as in the cases of socialism, communism, red-republicanism, red-aristocracy, Prussianism, Austrianism, Bourbonism, Napoleonism, and other party questions among a few individuals or a small party, bandying their own opinions backwards and forwards among clubs and meetings got up by themselves, and reproducing it as public opinion. Will Mr. Cobden, or Mr. Bright, or any leader of the Anti-Corn-Law League say, now that the movement is over and the question triumphantly and satisfactorily carried, that the end justified the means? that the hiring of itinerating orators to go about the country to agitate, the establishing of corresponding clubs with weekly meetings and paid speakers and pamphlet-writers, the raising of a large common fund to keep up and diffuse the agitation, were safe, sound, and constitutional means?

The object was undeniably good, and approved of by all; but do not the leaders of the movement themselves admit, by dissolving the association and its ramifications, that they had introduced a new, dangerous, and unconstitutional element into the social structure of this country; an organised power to control the legislature; a power as liable to be turned to evil as to good, and which may be perverted to misdirect public opinion to the worst, as well as the best of ends, and to give mere party or club opinion the appearance of a generally expressed desire of the public? A physical force demonstration for the repeal of the corn laws, and a dozen riots or tumults at the hustings on a general election, would not have been so dangerous to the British constitution, as this successful example of an organised club for controlling the legislature and for creating the agitation it wielded. It was the principle of the French clubs and of these German clubs, introduced for the first time into the public affairs of England, with a regularly organised machinery, and with complete success. The principle carried out to its full extent, would introduce into England a club *régime*, identical in principle with that which governed France in the days of Robespierre, and governs France and Germany now. It does not belong to the social state of England. One distinction there is between the English Anti-Corn-Law League and the French or German clubs, one arising from the good sense of the English people as much as from the discretion of the leaders of the movement — the agitation was strictly confined to one practical interest obvious to every man with a mouth to be filled, and it could not be diverted from the one plain object — the cheap loaf

—and directed to any other. When the object was attained, the machinery used for the agitation was flung away by the people with contempt. The paid orator, the corn-law lecturer, the club-room president, the gratis-pamphlet writer, all the means and hirelings employed, fell at once into obscurity and utter contempt; and with abuses and grievances enough to be reformed and abolished, the public repudiated the means and the machinery of the Anti-Corn-Law League for coercing the legislature by a pressure from without. In the German clubs the material interests of the people were the least and last subjects of discussion. Abstract principles of social philosophy, and all that ought, or ought not, to enter into a perfect constitution, were keenly debated in the clubs and the parliament, while the most essential practical reforms of abuses before their eyes were never thought of.

This club-parliament, formed of seven clubs of professors and functionaries, and representing their own theories and political opinions, not the people of Germany or their social wants and requirements, was divided into two main branches; the right or conservative, and the left or liberal. The right was divided into an Austrian interest, unwilling to make any concession to the demands for reform of the old-established usages of the empire; and the Prussian, equally conservative, but ready to make any concession, however extravagant, such as entering into the war against Denmark for the annexation of Schleswig to the German empire, the raising of troops, fleets, and the exercise of executive power by this legislative assembly, provided a popular ascendancy for Prussia could be gained. Between the two, the left, or liberal party, divided into many shades

of opinion between a limited sovereignty or empire and a republic, could only get the most obviously necessary measures for obtaining a central government passed through the House, by gaining the votes and support of one or other of these two interests which had but one object in view—to give the empire to its own chief, with as few concessions to the people, or limitations on the power of the chief of the new empire, as possible. To gain time, and allow the popular ferment to exhaust itself, were the parliamentary tactics both of Von Schmerling and Von Gageren. The indignation and ridicule of all Germany overtook this club-parliament of philosophers. Public suspicion was aroused, and expressed openly that treachery to the cause was at work, in the unnecessary procrastination and postponement of all real business; that the ministry of Von Gageren were purposely availing themselves of the incapacity and inexperience of the long-winded speculative members who wasted the time of the House and wore out the patience of the people, in order to create an indifference and apathy, perhaps a reaction, in the public mind favourable to the restoration of the old order of affairs in Germany, or of the predominance of Prussia. It cannot be denied that, in the history of this parliament, it is impossible to combine the past with the present, the postponement of the most urgent measures as "not urgent," while time was wasted in the most frivolous discussions, and the resignation of this ministry on the eve of a struggle between the parliament and the *Reichsverweser* on a constitutional principle, and their giving up even their seats as members of the parliament, without coming to the conclusion that the leaders of the House, the Von

Gageren ministry, have either been playing a false and treacherous part, or have been men of very weak character. They can only be acquitted of treachery by the admission of extreme imbecility. If they had intended to betray the popular cause of constitutional government, to play into the hands of those who desired the re-establishment of the former political condition of the German people, to bring the parliament into discredit and disarm it of power and public support, Von Gageren and his colleagues in the ministry could not have acted more efficiently. When twenty-eight of the minor states of Germany gave in their adhesion to the central government and constitution, and the king of Würtemberg, in April, 1849, was obliged by the diet, or chambers of the kingdom and the people, to acknowledge the *Reichsverweser* and the Frankfort parliament as the supreme authority in Germany, the practical and obvious measure of sending commissioners to those states from this supreme central power, to receive the oath of allegiance of their civil and military functionaries to the German constitution and central government, was repeatedly urged on the assembly, both by members and by numerous petitions from the people and functionaries of those states. This measure was always overruled by the influence of Von Gageren and his party in the House, and postponed as "not urgent." In May, 1849, when the king of Prussia declined definitively the imperial crown from the Frankfort constituent assembly, and intimated his non-acknowledgment of the constitution, on the ground that the princes and existing states were not called in and consulted on its formation, the central government at Frankfort had no tie upon those minor states

which had already given in their adhesion, but now either openly withdrew it and followed Prussia, or waited the course of events and would not commit themselves to support it, not having given any formal affirmation or oath of allegiance to it. The central government, led by Von Gageren as first minister, or as president of the parliament, neglected to take possession of the power and machinery offered to them, voted it to be "not urgent," and actually would not, when called upon, furnish to their adherents in civil or military office in those states, the excuse for not acting against them, of having already taken an oath of allegiance to the central government at Frankfort as the supreme state. The Landwehr troops throughout Germany would have refused to act without the orders, or against the orders, of the central government at Frankfort, if they had been regularly sworn in by commissioners in due time, to bear true allegiance to that power as the superior government. This formality, so unimportant in the opinion of the philosophers of the national assembly that they readily acquiesced with Von Gageren and his party in laying it aside as "not urgent," would have saved Germany from her present distracted state, would have furnished the local functionary and the common man with a valid reason for refusing to act in the Landwehr or other local service, against or without the orders of the *Reichsverweser* and the central government at Frankfort, to which he had sworn allegiance with the consent of the local state. The common man in Germany would be a religious man if his betters would allow him. Wanting the valid excuse of a previous oath of allegiance to a supreme state, he could not refuse to obey, and march against that

state and his brother Germans, without a breach of military duty to the local authorities of the state he belonged to before the establishment of a supreme central state. The neglect, rejection, or indefinite postponement of a measure so urgent, by Von Gageren, Von Schmerling, Bassermann, and the other ministers or leaders of influence in the parliament, seems to justify the suspicion that these men had been working for a party interest only, for an Austrian or Prussian supremacy in Germany, not for a united, independent, central German government and nationality. The chain of events leads to no other conclusion than treachery or imbecility on the part of the leaders of this German parliament, from March 1848 to June 1849.

This is an instance of the importance of the religious element in social and political affairs, even in countries in which religion, either in its Catholic or Protestant form, appears to have little influence. The promise, the mere form of promise, of allegiance given in a religious shape, cannot be made so binding on the human mind in any other form, or with any other reference than to religion, even when the individuals sworn are not religious. The affirmation, the assurance, has reference to the moral element only. The oath adding to it the obligation of the religious element, cannot be dispensed with. Society could not exist without the social power of the religious as well as the moral obligation. It has been the great mistake, during this half century, in the social policy of Germany, of Prussia, and, in imitation of Prussia, of all the minor Protestant states, to attempt to bring to a uniformity of doctrine and worship the two branches of the Protestant Church. The ill-

judged and unnecessary attempt produced an apathy and indifference, perhaps even an hostility, to all religious doctrine or practice, thus forced upon men by their governments. This German parliament was overturned, as a social power, by the neglect or contempt of the religious element; yet to that element it owed its own existence.

The revolution in Paris of the 24th February, 1848, gave, no doubt, the immediate impulse to the general movement in Germany of the following March; but the spark which then broke out into a flame, had been kindled by the collisions between the German governments and the people, by the forced union of the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches among the Protestant population, and, more recently, by the forcible suppression of the schism from the Church of Rome of Ronge and Czerski, or the German Catholic Church, among the Catholic population. It is a very short-sighted view of this great social movement of 1848, among the 40,000,000 of people, to attribute it to secret associations of students, or revolutionary enthusiasts, republicans, and propagandists of extravagant theories. What funds, what influence, what following, could such a class, with all their clubs and newspaper paragraphs, have in the vast, peacefully inclined, and patient German population, if the material, the enormous mass of real grievance, had not existed as a combustible prepared by the misgovernment of their rulers, and ready to catch fire from the most insignificant sparks? The Germans are a speculative people, who vindicate their intellectual freedom, and resent every attempt, open or concealed, on the right to think freely, as zealously as we would an attack upon our freedom to act in our material interests.

The reason is, that their middle class is composed almost entirely of men who have no other path to distinction, social weight, and individual well-being, than through mind—through the free action of intellectual power. Our middle class attain the same objects, through the humbler paths of industry in commercial or manufacturing enterprise. The forced amalgamation of the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches by the late king of Prussia into one new Church, with a new liturgy and new forms of his own devising, to be called the Evangelical Church, and the persecution of the Lutherans and Calvinists—the imprisonment, deprivation of office, banishment, quartering of dragoons, and ruin of the people who refused to accept of this new Church and liturgy—was the first step in the revolution which is now in progress in Germany. It was the first and most revolting aggression on the freedom of religion, since the Reformation; and one touching that intellectual freedom which the German people have always prized, and, even under the most despotic governments, have always vindicated as their own—as their inviolable rights of mind. It was not in Prussia alone that this interference of the government with the freedom of religious conviction and the right of private judgment in religious opinion, was carried on, in the spirit of the darkest ages. In Baden, Hesse, and almost the whole Protestant Germany, excepting Hanover, the amalgamation of the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches was, in imitation or at the suggestion of Prussia, made a state affair. The Calvinistic Church was considered, and in Baden openly declared by the government to be, in its simplicity of worship and in the principle of its Church government, too democratic to be tolerated

in monarchical governments. The two branches of the Protestant Church were living in perfect amity with each other. Time, good sense, perhaps indifference had allayed every feeling of discordance about ceremonial or even doctrinal points, between Lutherans and Calvinists, when the Prussian government stepped in, and kindled the extinguished embers of religious feeling into a flame, not between the two Churches, but between the two Churches and the state. The external forms of worship, the ancient service and liturgy of the Lutheran Church, were abolished by a royal edict; and a new liturgy, Church service, and forms in part composed by the autocrat himself, with altars, candlesticks with lighted candles, crucifixes, pictures, robes, and such appendages of Church scenery as were considered Popish in the Lutheran Church itself, and were utterly repugnant to Calvinistic principles and feelings, were imposed equally upon both Churches; together with a common Church government under bishops appointed by the state, and with a common name, the Evangelical Church. In our country such a measure would unseat Queen Victoria from her throne, and bring her ministers to the block. Yet the folly of the late king of Prussia attempted this measure in a kingdom not then six years old, composed of shreds torn from other countries less despotically ruled under their former governments than under the Prussian sway, and not consolidated into one nation. This insanity of autocratic will—the future historian will give it no other name—was carried so far, that by an order to the college of censorship at Berlin in 1821, the censors were commanded no longer to permit the words Protestant or Protestants to be used in publications or writings,

but instead thereof to cause the word Evangelical to be used. Yet, but three years before, this very king had himself laid the foundation-stone of a monument, in the market-place of Wittenburg, to Martin Luther, the founder of the Protestant Church, and of which the inauguration took place in the very year in which the names even of Protestant and Protestantism were proscribed and forbidden by order of the capricious monarch. The persecution of the old Lutherans, who, in spite of the royal will and edicts, adhered to the liturgy, service, and doctrines of the Lutheran Church—the imprisonment of the clergymen who refused to adopt the new liturgy, forms, and doctrines, instead of the old—the military free quarters of dragoons on the peasants' families in the villages in Silesia, who adhered to their clergy and to the forms of worship and liturgy handed down to them from their forefathers, a kind of persecution unheard of in Europe since the days of Louis XIV.—the expulsion of some thousands of these villagers from their homes, and their emigration to America to enjoy the liberty of Christian worship in the forms and doctrines of the Church in which they had been baptized and bred up—are historical facts of this 19th century in Prussia, very similar in origin, progress, and character to those which distinguished the first half of the 17th century in England. The coincidence of character and spirit of acting, as well as of the movement and its connection with religious freedom, is very remarkable. The late king of Prussia appears to have been the counterpart of our King James—pedantic, inconsistent, despotic yet weak, and intent on imposing his own royal wisdom and will on his subjects in matters which do not belong to law and government. With

the same inflated ideas of the Divine rights and supremacy of kings, and their inherent wisdom as well as power, he attempted to legislate in all things, from the highest and most abstruse doctrines of the Eucharist in the Protestant Churches, to the obscure novels of the circulating library. Like James I. he was minute in his wrath and lawgiving; and forgot to a ridiculous extent, that the fly he intended to crush was beyond the reach of his edicts. In 1835, not only were the works published by some obscure writers, Gutzow, Laube, Wienburg, proscribed by the royal edict, and their circulation in the kingdom prohibited, but all that they should hereafter compose were prohibited. The writings of H. Heine, not only those which had appeared, but which should in future appear, came under the same royal anathema; and the booksellers in Berlin were warned by a special royal rescript, that they would incur the severest punishment if they contravened the royal order. A more effectual way of advertising and promoting the circulation of works which few had ever heard of and nobody cared for, could scarcely have been devised. The pedantic autocrat appears to have had a personal feud with a respectable Hamburgh bookseller, Brockhorst, who, in the course of his trade, had published some of the works which displeased his majesty. By a royal edict the entrance into the Prussian dominions of any books whatsoever published by Brockhorst, was prohibited. The paper potentate gained the campaign. He laughed behind his counter at the impotent and ridiculous edict which had to be withdrawn amidst the laughter of the idle, and the indignation of the serious, at such a perversion and degradation of kingly power. With singular inconsistency,

the work of Strauss, *Das Leben Jesu*, was allowed a free circulation, although its object is to overturn the Christian religion; while the petty writings and unreadable novels of obscure authors, which the royal critic considered adverse to his dignity and government, were strictly prohibited. The poor character of this king will furnish an instructive page in the history of this German revolution. A future Macaulay will trace from it, as from the *triste* character of James in English history, the first seeds of great commotions, resistance to autocratic power and misgovernment, and of great changes and improvements in the social state of Germany. Like James too, this sovereign was surrounded by flatterers, men of literary note, who endeavoured to embellish his character, and to represent him as the father of his people, the patron of the arts and sciences, the model of public and private worth in every social relation. The future historian will reject the venal adulation even of men of the highest name for attainments in science and literature at the court of Berlin, and will judge of this king by the historical facts of his reign: that he was restored to his power in 1813, by the exertion and blood of his people, under a solemn promise to govern by a representative constitution; that he forfeited his royal word and promise; that he established a military yoke by his continuance of the *Landwehr* system, incompatible with personal freedom, civil rights, and social progress; that he abolished the Protestant religion in its two branches, the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, and endeavoured to establish a third Church; that he was the last of European sovereigns who engaged in a religious persecution of his subjects, and drove thousands

of them into exile, for refusing to abandon the Lutheran Church; that by intermeddling and governing in all things Frederick William III. left to his successor a people very much in the social state, temper, and mind of the people left by James I. to Charles I. in the 17th century. The beauty and virtues of the lovely queen, her prudence, dignity, and sufferings during the occupation of the country by the French, raised an affectionate and holy feeling among the people of Germany for all belonging to her, which was reflected upon her royal consort. Her death was, no doubt, hastened by the troubles, trials, and vicissitudes she had undergone; and her memory was hallowed in the sufferings and final triumph of Germany. When the widowed monarch, whose deep-rooted sorrow and silent never-smiling aspect of woe had been the theme of literary flatterers who made him a sentimental hero among kings, took to his arms a mistress, to console him for the loss of such a queen, the right and indignant feeling of his subjects could not be repressed. The left-handed marriage with this mistress, her elevation to the rank of nobility by the title of countess of Lignitz, the respect paid to her by the royal family and the court, were considered a desecration and insult to the memory of the late queen, by the right feeling of the public, and an outrage on that decency and moral feeling by which kings and subjects must equally regulate their conduct. A second marriage the people could understand as natural, and perhaps proper; but a mock-marriage, a marriage of which the progeny are to be bastards, solemnised with the religious rites and services of a real marriage by a regular clergyman of the new Evangelical Church, was felt by all to be

an abuse of the moral and religious ties which hold society together. The left-handed marriages, and the divorces of real marriages, so frequent among the German potentates, are not suited to the manners, morals, and spirit of the 19th century. The age is past when the public feelings of decency, morality, and religion, can be outraged with impunity by crowned heads. The re-action from the people, when they too throw off or slacken the ties of morality, decency, and religion, shakes the throne. It is now, in the generation of young men raving and fighting in Germany from the mere love of warfare and tumult, without any restraint from social, moral, or religious principle, that the policy and conduct of the late king of Prussia begin to show their effects. A half military education of all the youth, a submission of all self-action and social duty to functionary management, a subversion of all hereditary religion among the Protestant population, and of all domestic, religious, and moral training by the system of government schools independent of the parents, have reared up a young generation among the German people, bound by none of the ties which hold society together; a growing population without industry, co-operation in peaceful pursuits, or mutual interests, ready to cut each other's throats and fit for nothing else.

CHAP. XVII.

NOTES ON THE POLICY AND CONDUCT OF PRUSSIA IN THE GERMAN MOVEMENT OF 1848, IN THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN AFFAIRS.—RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE TO PRUSSIA AND TO GERMANY IN THE RESULTS OF THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN WAR.—REAL IMPORTANCE OF SCHLESWIG IN THE EUROPEAN SYSTEM.—ON THE GERMAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY COMPARED TO THE NORWEGIAN OF 1813.—SUPERIORITY OF THE NON-EDUCATED OVER THE EDUCATED BODY OF REPRESENTATIVES.—ON HAMBURGH—LIFE IN HAMBURGH—TABLE D'HÔTE—RAINVILLE'S—ALTONA.—SOCIAL ENJOYMENT OF THE MIDDLE AND LOWER CLASSES IN GERMANY—ITS EFFECTS—ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES.—SANITARY CONDITION—MORAL CONDITION.—HAMBURGH AND LUBECK IMPORTANT MILITARY POSTS FOR THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE.

NEVER did retributive justice in political affairs so speedily overtake moral delinquency, as in the invasion of Holstein and Schleswig in 1848, by the Prussian monarch, for the purpose of annexing those provinces to the new German empire, or rather, under that pretext, to the Prussian dominions. Holstein was unquestionably a duchy of the empire. Whether the king of Denmark, as duke of Holstein, had by any act incurred the forfeiture of the duchy, and whether the provisional government of the empire was entitled to do what the emperor could not have done, viz. to declare the duchy an escheat to the empire and to take military possession of it, are questions of German law. It is not at all clear, that the duchy of Schleswig ever was a member of the German empire. But allowing it was so, allowing with regard to both

duchies that all the claims are just which the Chevalier Bunsen alleges and Mr. Twiss disproves, in their respective pamphlets on the Holstein-Schleswig question, still the civilised world was entitled to expect, in the 19th century, that Germany, the most enlightened of European countries, and Prussia, the most educated and refined portion of Germany, should have resorted to other means to make good territorial claims, than a hasty and bloody exertion of brute military force, which would have disgraced the darkest period of the middle ages, and in barbarity and want of principle, is only to be compared to the *razzias* of the French in Algeria, without the same excuse of a military necessity. The question was one of simple legal right between two civilised states, a weak and a strong power, in the European system; and a question which it belonged to lawyers, antiquaries, and the decision of some neutral state as arbiter, upon their protocols of the facts and arguments, to determine according to justice; nor was the weaker power inclined or able to refuse a reference of the question to arbitration, and a prompt submission to the judgment however adverse. The revival in Germany of a taste for the spirit and deeds of the middle ages, promises little for the social good and progressive civilisation of Europe, if this return in political affairs to the force of the sword, this establishing of right by might, in a case not beyond the competency of arbiters to decide peacefully according to precedents and equity, be its first fruits. Why then was this unnecessary and unprincipled war begun? Prussia appears not to have had even a legitimate authority to begin it. The government of the German empire, at whose call Prussia sent her troops to Holstein and Schleswig,

was a provisional government only, had not elected and proclaimed a chief of the empire, or defined the duties and powers of the states or members to be amalgamated into a new constitutional empire, or appointed a tribunal before which infractions of those powers or duties could be tried, and was itself only a constituent assembly, governing merely until a government could be framed on constitutional principles. In 1849, Prussia repudiated this provisional government herself, yet continued her war against Denmark. It was not a permanent established government of the German empire—one at whose behest a conscientious monarch would have considered himself bound to plunge into war—and not a war of defence which could not be avoided or postponed; but a war of aggression, and in which no right or advantage was periled by delay. Why was this war begun? The secret spring of it will be found by the future historian in these circumstances: —

At the commencement of the liberal movement in Germany, in February, 1848, when a political epidemic and universal thirst for constitutional government broke out in every city in Europe, the policy of the royal family of Prussia was decidedly adverse to the concession of any constitutional government to its own subjects, The solemn promises given in 1813, by the late king to the Prussian people, to govern by a representative legislature, were violated by the sovereign who gave them as an inducement to his subjects to rise and expel the French. They did rise —they did expel the French—they did reinstate the sovereign in his independent throne and dignity—and the sovereign deliberately violated his promise. Provincial diets without authority to propose or

initiate, or even deliberate upon, any measure or enactment of the government, but simply to consider and petition on any subject laid before them connected with the local interests of their provinces, were the only concessions to the spirit of the age, and to the monarch's own sense of honour in the fulfilment of solemn promises given in 1813 to the people, which the policy of the royal family of Prussia would make. Their policy was strictly conservative and autocratic. The mention of the promises given in 1813, was criminal. The press was fettered; religion tampered with, in attempts to amalgamate the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches, and persecution resorted to for enforcing conformity with the royal liturgy. The civil liberty of the subject in his domestic life, was encroached upon by educational and military duties; and as in an army every third or fourth man is a corporal, or officer of some kind, in charge of and superintending the other two or three, so, in civil society in Prussia, every fourth or fifth man was a government functionary, living upon the taxes, and interfering with or superintending the free action of individuals. Up to the eleventh hour this conservative autocratic policy of the royal family of Prussia was adhered to. They were only awakened to more liberal and just views by their ineffectual resort to military force in the slaughter of the citizens of Berlin, and the hesitation of the Landwehr to be the instruments of the autocratic sovereign for the massacre of the people. The almost simultaneous movements in the other cities of Germany for a German nationality, and united German empire under a constitutional government, had become too general and formidable to be withstood. The Prussian people

tired of expecting the fulfilment of the promises of 1813, and disgusted with the want of good faith in palming upon them the provincial diets as a fulfilment of those promises, were at the head of this German movement. It was not for a Prussian constitutional government, but for one embracing all Germany, and in which the Prussian sovereign would be merged as merely one of the members, that the movement in Prussia itself was carried on. Prussia, as the most powerful, enlightened, and industrious German country, and comprehending almost all the commercial, manufacturing, and maritime interests and industry of Germany, might justly expect to be virtually the head of the new German nation, and the influences and views of her experienced and able men in military, political, and economical science, to be predominant. But the royal family of Prussia would be nothing in the system. With its autocratic policy it could not expect to be the chief, the *Reichsverweser*, stadholder, and in time emperor, of a new German empire; yet the imperial crown was a fair object of ambition for the house of Hohenzolleren. The sovereigns of Bavaria and Austria had attained the imperial dignity. The third great royal house in Germany, the second in actual power, was entitled to aspire to it: but this house could not expect the support of the Catholic interest in Germany; had alienated or rendered indifferent the Protestant interest by its tampering with the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches in their forms of service; and by its autocratic rule and intolerance of liberal principle at home had lost the confidence of the constitutional party of the German nation, who alone, at that crisis, could confer the dignity. No time was to be lost.

An imperial dignity was at stake. It was necessary to wheel about and adopt a policy diametrically opposite to the old, and to show as great zeal in promoting the constitutional principle for all Germany, as it had displayed, but a few days before, in bloody efforts to suppress it in Prussia. By some prompt and brilliant act in favour of the cause of constitutional government in Germany, the Prussian family expected that the recollection of thirty-three years of absolute, autocratic, anti-liberal rule would be effaced, and the king, or one of the royal family, would be called by acclamation, to be the chief of the popular movement and the executive head of the new empire. The policy of the house of Hohenzolleren became, at once, as ferociously constitutional as it had been tyrannically autocratic. The field-pieces and muskets which had swept with their fire the streets of Berlin in the royal attempt to suppress the constitutional principle among the citizens, were scarcely cooled and reloaded before they were despatched to Holstein and Schleswig, to extend the dominion and power of that very principle. The Germans are a people eminently given to loyalty, but they have very tenacious memories. The mistake, as the court of Berlin called it, of the five hours' unchecked firing of the military in the streets of Berlin upon the citizens, was too recent to be forgotten. The arbitrary amalgamation of the two branches of the Protestant Church into a barren hybrid Church, and still more the persecution of those who refused to acknowledge the new forms of worship imposed on them, were not to be forgotten. The unworthy treatment at Berlin of two members of the parliament of Baden, on account of liberal speeches delivered in their own parliament, was not a fact to be forgotten

by liberal members of a German parliament. The persecution of the press, and the arbitrary proceedings during the last thirty years against all individuals who presumed to think, write, or speak on public affairs in a liberal strain, were not forgotten. The constituent assembly at Frankfort were quite ready to accept the assistance of the Prussian monarch, in his new-born zeal for constitutional government, and to employ it in Holstein and Schleswig; but were too wise to intrust their new constitutional empire in the hands of a sovereign, or a royal family, accustomed to autocratic rule, who had resisted the most reasonable claims, although founded on the royal promise, to a representative constitutional government in Prussia itself, and whose newly adopted liberal policy, even if it were sincere and disinterested, could not be considered as consistent, steady, and to be depended upon. The assembly at Frankfort elected a prince of the house of Austria to the undefined dignity of *Reichsverweser*, and extinguished for a time the imperial aspirations of the house of Hohenzolleren. This was the first stroke of retributive justice. The second was not less remarkable. By acting according to the plainest dictates of humanity and prudence, the provisional government of Germany might have secured the affections and co-operation of the people of Schleswig and Holstein; and the two northern powers, Denmark and Sweden, would by ordinary prudence have been gradually brought into a perpetual alliance with the new German nation. Their fleets and armies might have been made available, either for attack or defence, in the event of a rupture with Russia, England, or France. This flank of the German empire might have been made secure with-

out effort or expense. By following the insane projects of a few professors and students at Kiel, men either strangers or with no stake in the country, the provisional government plunged itself into an unjust and ruinous war. The inhabitants of the duchies have been alienated by the destruction of their property, unavoidable in the seat of military operations. The inhabitants of the coasts of the Baltic and far back into the interior have been reduced to misery, the blockade of the ports in 1848–1849, preventing the export of their timber, flax, grain, and interrupting all trade. The two northern powers have been thrown into the arms of Russia as their ally and protector. The communications between the Baltic ports of Germany, and those on the North Sea, are by nature cut off by the peninsula of Holstein, Schleswig, Jutland, and by the Danish isles, in the same way, on a small scale, as the peninsula of Spain cuts off the naval power of France in the Mediterranean, and at Toulon, from its naval power on the coasts of the ocean, and at Brest. The commercial marine of the one coast cannot be made available by the state, for any national marine on the other. To establish a German national marine, to have ships — ships of war — colonies, and commerce adequate in some degree to the importance of the German people among the nations of Europe, is the object, or dream, of German ambition in the new nationality. It is a dream now; because nothing short of a conquest of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, can realise it. To a certain extent, however, the object might have been attained, and the dream realised, as far as the natural obstacles of the relative position of the Baltic and the ocean would permit, if the new German government

had commenced its career in a friendly, just, and conciliatory spirit towards those Northern powers. They with their fleets, seamen, and troops, might have been reckoned upon as foreposts of defence on this side of Germany; allies, like those of the Roman empire, defending their own interests and existence in defending her frontier from the barbarian, and more able to make a prompt and vigorous defence than the distant mother country. With a reckless abandonment of principles, treaties, guarantees, and all the acknowledged ties which hold together the European family of nations in civilised and generally peaceful relations with each other, the new Germany made no secret that, in right of identity of race and language, she claimed, not only Holstein, but Schleswig and Jutland, and the whole Danish kingdom. The mouths of the Rhine too, that is, Holland, and the mouths of the Scheld, that is, Belgium, were asserted to be original portions of the old Germanic empire, which ought to be annexed to the new Germany. The same convenient principle might have been extended to the Isle of Thanet and the Thames. The number of seamen and ships of war which the new Germany could maintain with all the coast of Europe, from Ostend round to Copenhagen, and from Copenhagen to Danzig, annexed to the new German empire, was set forth in numerous pamphlets and speeches, as a power to be acquired, and to which the right was not wanting. These, it may be said, were but the wild speculations and dreams of crazy professors, authors, and enthusiastic students. True: but crazy professors, authors, and students governed Germany in this movement; and men of sober judgment and unquestionable principle, such as the Chevalier Bunsen, submitted to be

tools of such dreamers, and to vindicate their dreams. The invasion of Schleswig became a serious and bloody reality. By this unnecessary and unprincipled war Germany has made implacable enemies where, by the simple policy of justice and humanity, she might have made the firmest allies and friends. The want of moral principle and political prudence in this unjustifiable war, will be signally punished even by its success. The more successful the war and the more the populations are by force annexed to Germany, the more the Northern powers will be alienated. Retributive justice has fallen upon the movers of this inglorious and unnecessary war, as well as upon the agents in it. Public opinion is, in our times, a power before which even sovereigns quail. The heartless pointless jest of the Prussian monarch, that his war in Holstein and Schleswig has been a war of dog against fish, will not dry the tear or bring a smile on the cheek of the widows and orphans of the victims worried in this unprincipled campaign; but it will be recorded in history as an acknowledgment that the dog was foiled by the fish, and that the war was as unprofitable and disgraceful to the instigators, agents, and instruments, as it, and every unprovoked and unnecessary war, deserves to be.

The real insignificance of this Holstein-Schleswig territory, for the acquisition of which the peace and intercourse of half of Europe have been disturbed, and for the conquest of which five kings—the Prussian, Bavarian, Saxon, Würtemberg, and Hanoverian—and all the minor German states sent their forces, to the amount of 80,000 men, into the field; and who, considering that the Danes have but an army of from 16,000 to 18,000 men to oppose to them, have covered

themselves with more disgrace than glory, will be best appreciated from statistical details.

Holstein contains 362,217 inhabitants, and Schleswig 300,347. Holstein and Schleswig together contain 3057 proprietors and tacksmen (*Pachters*) of considérable estates; 125,150 small peasant-proprietors or owners of farms (*Hofbesitzer*); 67,710 small tenants (*Land-Inster*); 17,481 house cotters; and 36,283 day labourers in husbandry. Holstein is blessed with 1073 civil functionaries, and Schleswig rejoices in 684 of the same class. Holstein has 2217 seamen, boatmen, and fishermen, and Schleswig 4416. In Schleswig the youngest son inherits the peasant-proprietor's estate or *Hof*—presumptive proof that the district has always been under its own laws, not under the civil law, or law prevailing in Germany. In Holstein the eldest son inherits as in other parts of the German empire.

For this territory of Schleswig, inferior in population, value, and importance to any of our counties on the coast opposite to it, the insane ambition of the constituent assembly at Frankfort, and of the Prussian monarch to be elected emperor of Germany by administering to it, has ruined the commerce of Hamburgh, Bremen, and of all the Prussian ports in the Baltic; has impoverished the back country far and wide, by the stoppage of all the usual export trade of their corn and timber during two summers; has incurred expenses which some of the German states and kingdoms have not financial means to pay without having recourse to forced loans and new taxes; and, above all, has demoralised the public mind by exciting and gratifying the blind craving for war which the military training of all

the youth of the country engenders, and has extinguished the sense of right and wrong in public affairs in the breasts of the rulers as well as of the people. What can have been the true and secret cause of the great exertion of Prussia, under the pretext of obedience to a central government at Frankfort which Prussia repudiates as a legitimate authority, to occupy and retain such an insignificant territory as this duchy of Schleswig?

Schleswig, united with Holstein, would give Prussia ports on the North Sea as well as on the Baltic—would give her a seat among the naval powers of Europe. Schleswig also is the key to the Danish Islands. It is so situated with respect to Alsen, Fyen, and Zealand, that the Danish kingdom could no more exist as an independent power with the duchy of Schleswig separated from the Danish crown, than England, if Kent or Essex, or the Isle of Wight or the Isle of Thanet, were in the hands of France or Germany. The British ministry, or a German influence behind the throne, has allowed too long the open violation of her own guarantee of 1730, by which Schleswig is inseparably annexed to the kingdom of Denmark, and winks now at the occupation of the independent state and city of Hamburgh by the troops of Prussia on the frivolous pretext of some insult having been offered by the rabble to her soldiers marching through the streets. The honour and commercial interests of Great Britain require that the free city and state of Hamburgh should be replaced in her independence and self-government, and not be held, as she now is, by a Prussian garrison; that Schleswig should be restored to its legitimate sovereign; that the Danish monarchy should be upheld in its guaranteed integrity; and that the secret in-

fluence by which the honour and interests of this country and the safety of her allies have been compromised to promote the visionary schemes of Germany, or the ambition of Prussia and the interests of some petty princes under her influence, should be understood, exposed, and repudiated.

France and Germany in their attempts, in 1848, to give themselves liberal constitutions, exhibit a remarkable and instructive contrast to the only European country which has, in modern times, framed for itself a free, or indeed, a democratical constitution essentially the same as that which they have been aiming at—to Norway. The contrast shows that the political and social education of a people, and their fitness for constitutional government, are not in proportion to their school-education, to their attainments in reading, writing, literature, science, or philosophy; but in proportion to their habits of unrestrained self-action, their habits of business and of managing their own affairs. Germany and France are far in advance of Norway in schools, universities, and all educational means and attainments; and their constituent assemblies comprehended many of the most distinguished philosophers and literary men of the age. Yet, what a poor figure they make as legislators or representatives appointed to form a constitution, compared to the unschooled boors or peasant-proprietors and merchants of Norway in their constituent assembly! The Norwegian peasant-proprietor is not, like the German or French, living in a climate and on a soil which can produce all he wants or consumes. He is of necessity a merchant as well as a proprietor, connected with, and exercised in business by the sale of his timber, cattle, dairy pro-

ducts, and the purchase of his bread-corn and other necessaries. His piece of land rarely produces grain enough for his daily bread, and in a great part of the country produces none at all, and the owner depends on the sale of his butter, cheese, cattle, timber, and other products for subsistence. The habits of forethought, reflection, and independent self-action required in this social state, form the practical education of this class; and the higher class are only wealthier peasant-proprietors, educated in the same school of real business, in which judgment and good sense are exercised. When these practical men came together in 1813, in a constituent assembly, they went to work like men of business. The assembly met on the 10th of April, 1813, and consisted of 112 members, of whom twenty-one were peasant-proprietors, five were larger landowners, eleven were merchants, fourteen were clergymen, seventeen were officers or civil functionaries, thirteen were non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, two were seamen, and one was a professor. The rest were burgesses, lawyers, and tradesmen. After prayer they adjourned to the next day, and then met formally, elected a president, and appointed a committee of fifteen members to prepare and bring in a draught of a constitution, and to report progress to the assembly from day to day, and with the special instruction that practical measures only, and no general or abstract principles or propositions, should be considered or discussed by the committee. These men of business probably foresaw that, even among them, the love of theory and philosophical discussion might lead the members to endless and useless debates and delay. By the 12th of May the constitution was ready, had been

considered paragraph by paragraph, revised, amended, passed, and was sworn to by Prince Frederick Christian of Denmark on the 19th of May; the constituent assembly dissolved itself, and the regular legislative body was elected. In six weeks this practically educated people accomplished what the German constituent assembly at Frankfort, composed of the most educated philosophic politicians of the most educated philosophic country in Europe, had been attempting to do, talking about, and debating upon, for more than twelve months, and at last entirely failed of doing. The political interests no doubt of the people of Norway were few and simple, and their numbers insignificant compared to those of the 40,000,000 of the new German empire; but the principles and constitutional arrangements to be settled were very much the same. The independent existence of the legislative branch of the state, its elections and meetings *suo jure* at stated times placed beyond the will or control of the executive branch; the independence of the administrative or judicial branch, of the executive or legislative branches, and its being subject only to impeachment by the lower house at the bar of the upper house of the legislature; the sole power of making laws, or granting taxes, the suspensive *veto* only, not the absolute *veto*, on its enactments being conceded to the executive branch—these are points common to every liberal constitution, whether for a great or small population. The question of one chamber or two, in a country without any class of hereditary nobility in the social body—a question which seems to perplex the political philosophy of the German and French constituent assemblies and of our own colonial department, in framing constitutions for coun-

tries which have no element of aristocracy, no hereditary nobility with the influence of property in the population—was very cleverly solved by this Norwegian constituent assembly, and in a way to which all countries with the land distributed among the population, and consequently without a class of nobility, as in the new state of Europe and in our own colonies, must recur. The whole body of representatives elect one third of their members to be the upper house with all the legislative rights and duties of a house of lords, but with no social rights or privileges beyond other representatives. The "leave to bring in a bill," the general policy of the measure proposed, must be brought before the general body of representatives (the upper house and lower house) sitting together. If leave be given, the upper house retires to its own chamber, the lower house discusses the clauses, and frames the bill, and sends it to the upper house. This house alters, amends, or adds to the enactments, or perhaps throws out the bill altogether, exactly as our House of Lords may do; and by conferences between the two houses, adjustments are made, as in our houses of parliament, or the bill is lost if the two chambers cannot agree. By this ingenious arrangement of the body of representatives into three houses for legislation (viz. the upper deliberative chamber, equivalent to a house of peers; the lower chamber for discussing and framing the special clauses or enactments of every bill; and the united chambers in one house, in which all bills must be originated, and the policy of the bill discussed), no representative is deprived of his right to bring in a measure, whether he is in the upper or lower house. Practically this constitution has worked well. It affords many more

checks on ignorant, hasty, or factious legislation within the legislative body itself, than our British constitution. The suspensive, instead of the absolute, *veto*, is a source of concord, not of discord, between the legislative and executive powers. Three successive parliaments, that is, a period of at least nine years, must intervene before a measure can become law without the royal assent; and surely a measure that has been nine years before the country, and has been discussed and enacted by three different parliaments in succession, ought to become law; and it cannot be said to be an infringement of any just or reasonable right of the executive in its legislative power, that the *veto* terminates. With an absolute *veto*, a constitution in Germany would be a mockery, or a scene of perpetual collision between the sovereign and the parliament. The Norwegian parliament abolished nobility, by the exercise of this ground-right; and it cannot be doubted that an hereditary nobility of counts, barons, knights, in a population of peasant-proprietors, and who could have no property to support a superior rank in the next generation under the law of equal inheritance, would have been an element altogether unsuitable to their social state.

Hamburgh is a city of merchants, but of merchants who do not, as in our great mercantile cities, grudge every moment that is not devoted to business. The pressure of competition is not so great, or the old monopoly movement in all trades and branches of industry still lingers in the spirit and habits of men of business, and keeps mercantile action at a slow pace. It appears, at least to the idle traveller, that, after four or five o'clock, business seems suspended, and men of all classes hasten to eat, drink, amuse them-

selves, and enjoy what they have been toiling for all day. The idler, who likes to eat well, drink well, smoke a good cigar, enjoy good walks, and all the creature-comforts, innocent and non-innocent, of a great city, and for his intellectual enjoyments is quite satisfied with good theatres, good music, excellent coffee-rooms, plenty of newspapers, first-rate *tables d'hôte*, and a constant stream of strangers from all parts of the world willing to talk, to amuse, and be amused, will do well to repair to Hamburgh. Nor is the expense of living in the best hotels exorbitant. About eight or ten shillings a day will cover all his expenses. That is about the average rate all over the Continent, for travellers who do not look like pigeons. The great fire swept off the street, the *Jungfernsteig*, in which, of old, the best hotels were situated, but these are rebuilt or rebuilding. When the traveller from England has got himself and his luggage out of the steamer into a boat, he is troubled with no custom-house visitations. The waterman's fare is fixed, the porter's fixed, the drosky's or cab's fixed, and he buttons up his pocket with the inward satisfaction of knowing he has not been imposed upon, and drives to Streit's Hotel or the Alte Stad London, the most contented of travellers in those moments of landing and housing himself, which, in England, France, and all other countries, are the moments of the greatest and most frequent annoyance in the life of the human locomotive. The only trouble he may have at Hamburgh is that, owing to the concourse of travellers on business from all parts of the world, he may not find room in the hotel he is recommended to. But there are scores of others, all good in their way, and very much in the same way. It is like the American

way of hotel living as described by Dickens, but very much better. The bedrooms, indeed, are very small and Americanly furnished; but big enough to sleep in, breakfast in, and write a letter in. Dinner, as in the American hotel, is the grand scene of life, the dinner *salon* the grand field of action. All live at the *table d'hôte*, and not merely the lodgers in the hotel, but, as in America, many who reside, and have for years been permanently resident, in the town, dine regularly at the *table d'hôte*, ladies as well as gentlemen. Dinner begins after 'change, at four o'clock; but unlike the American *table d'hôte* dinner, its duration is not to be measured by minutes of mastication and deglutition. Three good hours, at the least, are passed in the diligent exercise of the knife and fork, dish follows dish, course succeeds course, and all of excellent viands, all but the fish, excellent, and rare. Pudding is served round. "Well, now we have got to the end at last." Alas! simple John Bull, with thy notions of an English traveller's dinner, the perpetual mutton chop and mashed potatoes! This is but an interlude, a song between the acts. The best of the dinner, the game, the venison, the delicacies, are all to come. If there be any thing here below that knows no end, it is a Hamburgh *table d'hôte* dinner at one of the first-rate hotels. Its finality, like that of the Reform Bill, is a beginning anew. The traveller knowing in the ways of the world in general, but not in Hamburgh ways, gets up when he sees a group on the move at last, and keeps his eye on them, to discover how and where the remnant of human life not occupied in dining is usually disposed of. A pavilion on the edge of a magnificent sheet of water within the city, a water square surrounded by streets,

receives the coffee sippers and cigar puffers until the theatres open. This great piece of water, and the great fire of Hamburgh, must have had a league to spare each other. How a whole city of streets below the level of this vast reservoir, and close to it, should be consumed by fire, and the senate, burgomasters, and all other city authorities entrusted with its safety, remain without punishment or reproach, must be a puzzle to the travellers of future generations. Here people lounge about on chairs, outside in fine weather, listening to an excellent band of music, looking at the pleasure-boats sailing on this urban lake, or at the passengers walking on the beautiful promenade along its margin. But this is only every day life in Hamburgh. We must look at holiday life, at Tuesday, Thursday, and Sunday life also. These are gala days at Rainville's, and all the world are there. Rainville was a French *restaurateur*, who, at the beginning of the French revolution, when all the nobility emigrated, and Hamburgh was so full of them as to have its French theatre and Mademoiselle Contat acting in it every night, established himself with a brigade of first-rate Parisian cooks, at a large country-house near Altona, and entertained all the world who preferred French cookery to *sauer kraut*. He succeeded so well, that all the Hamburgh hotel-keepers had to amend their ways of living and their old German cookery, and to furnish tables to please the taste of the public. The town of Altona, in Holstein, is about a mile and a half from Hamburgh; and the spacious road between, being a kind of neutral territory in police matters, is lined on each side with booths of the *juste milieu* dealers, who delight to traffic on the frontier between right and wrong, taking a step now and then

on either side as it may suit their convenience. Old clothes' men, trinket-dealers, pedlars, brokers of all sorts of wares, showmen, music-grinders, stall-women, flower-girls, sailors, soldiers, blackguards and blackguardesses of every grade, idlers of every country, colour, and calling, are bustling, lounging, bawling, talking, between the Altona Gate of Hamburgh and the town of Altona; and omnibuses, stool-waggons, carts, gigs, add to the buzz and confusion. The Boulevards of Paris are tame and silent compared to the Altona road. Nothing on this side the Strada Toledo of Naples is so rich in tongue-noises, costume, movement, and the small interests of life. The foot-paths are wide enough not to be disagreeably crowded by the throng, but the stranger winds his way slowly through the groups. Something attracts his eye at every step—perhaps a barrow-woman with a tray of beautiful, and possibly very rare, East Indian shells, which she has picked up from seamen just returned from distant voyages—perhaps a rosy innocent peasant girl of the Vierlander district, in her village costume of woollen jupe and petticoat puffed out in ample plaits about the hips, but scarcely reaching below her knee, and displaying a leg in blue worsted which Taglioni might envy—perhaps a mountebank and his clown with countenances of ferocious depravity, voices hoarse with bawling, specimens of the fiendish, not of the angelic; and beside them, perhaps, the contrast of a chubby, red-cheeked, fair and fat Danish peasant, a perfect picture of good nature, simplicity, honesty, and inactivity of mind and body. The traveller gets, at last, into Altona; and in a step or two, he is at once out of this stir and bustle, and is standing at the end of a long deserted street, in which no living being

is moving. A house-dog sleeping in the sunshine on the door-step, sparrows chirping on the middle of the causeway over a lump of horse-dung, are all the life to be seen in a city intended to rival Hamburgh, better situated for trade than Hamburgh, having greater depth of water for shipping close to its warehouses, and which, if left to itself, would rival Hamburgh. But the paternal fostering care of an autocratic government endeavouring to regulate and encourage trade, but without a representation of the trading interests in its legislature to guide or keep in check the ignorance of the monarch's advisers and functionaries, keeps Altona in a torpid state. Going out of Hamburgh into Altona is like going out of the main street of a thriving market-town, on a market-day, into its churchyard. It is the self-government of Hamburgh which has raised it to its commercial importance. It may be reasonably doubted whether this commercial importance will be maintained, if Hamburgh is to be governed in its commercial relations and arrangements by a minister of commerce, or board of trade, of the new German empire at Frankfort or at Berlin. Capitalists will not readily engage in great affairs when their affairs are liable to be interfered with by measures of a distant government ignorant of their interests, and ready, perhaps, to sacrifice them for political objects deemed of more importance to the Germanic or Prussian nation. The trade of Hamburgh is not founded upon any manufactures or natural products of the country behind, like the trade of Liverpool, Newcastle, Glasgow, nor upon any great population around which can only be supplied cheaply with what it consumes by way of Hamburgh, nor by any natural facilities of

navigation in the Elbe, which has scarcely twelve feet water up to Hamburgh, and is not navigable to any extent above the town by river craft with any certainty of regular transport. The trade of Hamburgh is founded totally and entirely on capital removable at once to Holland, Denmark, Belgium, or England, if it does not find that influence and self-government which merchants and capitalists require and possess over mercantile affairs in all countries in which commerce flourishes. Interference and fostering care by the government of the new Germanic or Prussian empire, may soon reduce Hamburgh to the state of Altona. Empty as Altona appears compared to Hamburgh, it has about 24,000 inhabitants. At the farther end of its long and empty streets stands the hotel, or *Restaurant*, of Rainville, on a bank of the river high enough to afford a view of its windings through the flat land of Hanover, and laid out in what is called on the Continent an English park or garden. Such English parks in Germany consist of ten or fifteen acres of copsewood intersected by ill-kept gravel walks twisting and twining towards some arbour, temple, duck-pond, or good point of view. In this German-English park from fifteen hundred to two thousand people, every gala-day in the fine season, dine, drink coffee, and lounge away four or five hours. They dine singly, or in parties, or at a *table d'hôte*, and out of doors, or in small pavilions; and all the department of the *cuisine* is considered admirable by those who are judges of it. A regular orchestra, as strong in numbers, and probably in talent, as that of any of our minor theatres, is part of this monster establishment. Sundays and holidays are particularly gala-days at Rainville's, and the number of people who

pass and repass, and take some refreshment, and come to talk with their friends or to listen to the music, must be immense. Ladies, children, and family parties of the middle and higher classes, form a considerable proportion of the company. So great an assemblage of the higher classes of a city, collected in one public place of entertainment open to every body who chooses to take a cup of coffee, or a glass of *liqueur* and a cigar, can scarcely be seen anywhere, even on the Continent. This tea-garden life—the sitting out of doors sipping coffee or tea, the ladies knitting or sewing and chatting, the gentlemen smoking their pipes and skimming over the newspapers, all entertained with good instrumental music, and a great assemblage of family parties around occupied in the same way—seems to be the summit of earthly felicity in German life. All ranks and classes enjoy an evening or two every week, in this way. The labouring people have their Rainville's too—their coffee, pipes, and music, in the open air, at hundreds of tea-gardens and houses of entertainment scattered over the environs. There is a simplicity, kindly feeling, and unpretending enjoyment in these family parties of the labouring people, sitting under the trees—the whole family, from the grandfather to the infant in arms, meeting together in an evening, once a week, in their best clothes, and best humour, and all gay and innocently merry without extravagance or boisterous excess. Such scenes give the traveller a favourable and just impression of the amiable disposition of the German people. Why is it, he asks, that so many of our gentry, or would-be gentry, shrink with horror from mixing with the middle or lower classes in England in any place of public en-

tertainment? Is it that, in reality, many of our nominal gentry are only persons of wealth suddenly gentrified—persons who have acquired the fortune, rank, and social importance of gentry, before they began to take up the habits, manners, and mode of thinking and acting of the educated upper class, and feeling themselves just the same sort of persons as they were originally, and that the difference between them and the vulgar is not in mind, habits, and education, but in the conventional distinctions of wealth, they hate the profane vulgar and keep aloof from all intercourse with them, sensible that they themselves are at bottom of the same class, and that the difference is in the coat, not in the man? On the Continent the different classes are more distinctly marked. The noble, the professional, the military man, the civil functionary, are fenced in by privileges, titles, orders, and conventional rank. They run no risk of being confounded with the lower unprivileged classes, and can afford to mix more freely with them. Wealth is not the measure of social influence as with us, either in reality or in public estimation, but the place, civil or military, which the individuals hold under government. The social importance and distinction which a man acquires for himself in trade, and which is measured by his wealth, and confirmed by the public opinion alone independently of government, can scarcely be said to exist, or to be acknowledged, in the social system of Germany. It is the main spring of ours. In English life, men are never contented and happy unless in the struggle to attain some higher social position than they are in, and which the public confers. The merchant, the tradesman, the working-man, however easy in his circum-

stances and prospects according to his position in life, could not sit down, like the amiable contented German in the same station, to talk, and sip, and puff away three or four hours daily, or half a day perhaps every week, in the simple enjoyment of life, and of the physical good he can command. He is goaded on by the desire of attaining some higher social position, some greater good still, to which all that is really within his reach appears to him but the first step at which it would be folly to stop, and but the means of advance which it would be unpardonable waste to enjoy. Every weaver's son strives to be a Peel, or a father of Peels; every grocer's, a Gladstone; every operative's, a Cobden. In our social and political system there is nothing to make such a dream impossible or extravagantly improbable, and therefore he dreams it, and lives in a struggle to realise it. The Continental man in the same class and position, would be mad indeed if he expected, by his utmost efforts and good luck to attain a higher social position, or greater social influence than what belongs to his original calling. Rothschild himself is a much greater man in London than in Frankfort—has much more of the social influence, esteem, and importance for which men strive, willingly accorded to him by the British public than he receives in Germany. This peculiar national spirit nourished by our social system, in which the lowest may rise to the highest station and importance, is the true source of our national prosperity and greatness. If the country were bankrupt to-morrow, if all the wealth, manufactures, commerce, and colonies of Great Britain were suddenly annihilated, and the people had to start afresh from a lower level than any Continental country stands

upon at the present day, this spirit would, in twenty years, place us again at the head of all commercial nations. It is, perhaps, at the expense of individual happiness that we attain and hold this national pre-eminence. Is this mercantile pre-eminence worth the price we pay for it? This question is often discussed by foreigners, and generally determined by them in the negative. Let us look at the question fairly.

It will not be denied by any traveller who has examined the way of living among the middle and lower classes abroad, that they enjoy a great deal of physical well-being—perhaps more than the corresponding classes with us at home. Every traveller can bear witness to the great amount of amusement and physical enjoyment, to the astonishing number of eating-houses, coffee-houses, dancing-rooms, concert-rooms, billiard-rooms, theatres, shows, and balls, in and about every town and every village, for the recreation of the lower, as well as of the middle and higher classes. He will bear testimony, too, to the general sobriety, decorum, and good behaviour towards each other prevailing in the company, even in the lowest of those places of public resort. It is not in the manners of the company that he sees any difference. All this is very delightful. We are charmed at this simple state of society, at this social enjoyment within reach of the lower classes, and so innocently enjoyed by them. We look with delight at their urbanity and mutual civility to each other; at their happiness over their pipe of tobacco, cup of coffee, and really excellent music in a corner of the room; and when we see them passing the evenings with their families at one of those places of public resort, so cheaply, innocently, and happily, we sigh to think of our gin palaces. But

let us pause to consider the causes and the effects of this way of living, with all its ease, happiness, and enjoyment. How does it work on the physical, moral, and intellectual condition of this happy life-enjoying people? The causes are soon recapitulated, and some of them have been already indicated in a preceding Note. The bread of the labouring, and even of the middle class is of rye, or half wheaten, half rye, flour. Rye is the cheapest of all crops, requiring but poor soils, and is ripe and harvested in July, before the summer weather breaks up. It is the most certain, therefore, as well as the cheapest of the *cerealia* for the bread-corn of a people. Garden stuffs, and not merely the potato, enter more largely into the daily diet of all classes than with us. Lodging for the lower and middle classes is cheaper, also, and better—timber, bricks, and building-work not having such competition from manufacturing establishments all over the country, as with us, to raise their prices. Clothing materials, of woollen, linen, and mixed cotton and linen, for the labouring class, are generally produced and manufactured by each family for itself; but the clothing is neither so good nor so plentiful as that of our labouring class. Wages, in proportion to the cost of food, lodging, and clothing, are probably as good as in England. These are physical or material causes why the labouring class may, even with less wages than in England, enjoy much more of the luxuries and pleasures of the classes above them. There are other causes, arising from the social state of the Continent. Manufacturing capital and movement are but in their infancy, and are fenced in from competition, partly by the want of any great diffusion of capital, and partly by the dregs of the system of

monopolies or incorporations preventing the free use of capital, even where the restrictions of the middle ages on the exercise of trades are nominally abolished. Neither the working-man nor his employer is driven by competition to such unceasing labour, as with us, to maintain his ground. They have, both of them, more leisure to enjoy life than in our social system. The classification of society, also, being more strict and distinct, the class of employers, the middle class, have less to strive for. They cannot pass into a higher class, however successful and wealthy. Nobility of birth, military rank, and government function in civil affairs, monopolise all social and political influence and consideration, and leave nothing for industry, exertion, and success in the ordinary business of life to attain, but the animal enjoyments which wealth can command. The moral stimulus to successful industry and great commercial action is, therefore, naturally wanting, where wealth acquired by those means has not its just reward, in social influence, importance, and respect. If the nationality of the German people is to be sustained by commercial and manufacturing greatness, the present spirit and arrangement of German society, in which the acquisition of wealth leads to nothing but an easy life and the command of luxuries, but leads to no social distinction and influence, must be altogether changed. The middle class will never be striving, nor the working class hard working, while they are excluded by conventional arrangements and by the spirit of society (which laws and constitutions of the state cannot alter) from consideration, influence, and advancement in the social body, beyond what may belong to them in their original class. From these causes, material and

moral, the man of the middle and of the lower class, the employer and the employed in all branches of industry, leads an easier life on the Continent than with us, can give more leisure to his enjoyments, and has more means to expend on his enjoyments, having no object to save for or struggle for, but the animal comforts he is enjoying, and no competition to force him to perpetual exertion in his calling to retain what he has got. Climate, too, impeding out-of-door labour and the transport of goods for a portion of the year, gives a season of leisure in most occupations, a slack time unknown in our working-man's life. These causes have formed a temperament, it may be said, in the middle and lower classes of the German people, more refined, more capable of enjoying leisure and the *jucunda oblivia vitæ*, and requiring these enjoyments more than that of our rough ever-working people. What are the effects which these causes produce on the comparative well-being of the people of the Continent and of Britain? Our delight at the innocent enjoyments and comparatively refined way of living of the middle and lower classes in Germany, cools down when we examine closely the effects of this life. The traveller will still have to sigh over the gin palaces of our great towns, and the squalor, misery, and destitution of great masses of our lower orders; yet, taking the lower classes in Britain as a whole, and not measuring them by the fractional exception of the gin palace sots, or the inmates of the London, Edinburgh, or Liverpool alleys, he is surprised with the unexpected fact which he cannot help observing, that physically the race of British labouring-men, viewed as a whole, stands very much higher in the well-being depending on sound health and strength of constitu-

tion than the German population. The medical man may estimate the sanitary condition of a population by the mortality among a given number of people, and by the nature of the prevailing diseases which have cut off the majority of the dead. The social economist looks at the living, not at the dead; at the vigorous condition, bodily strength, capability of exertion, labour, and endurance, exhibited by the living mass. The amount of robust health, strength, and activity may be greatest in a body of men—for instance, a regiment, a garrison, or the whole population of a city or of a country—in which fever, or cholera, or various diseases, may have produced the greatest amount of mortality within a given time. There is a clear distinction between the medical and the economical sanitary condition of a people. An East Indian population may be much more healthy, that is, free from disease and death, than an equal number of a European population; but the strength, vigour, activity, and all that belongs to good health of the latter, may be much greater than in the whole body of the former. This kind of health, this absence of a weakly condition or delicate constitution, is much more general in Britain than in Germany. The physical defects of the people of Germany of the middle and lower classes, the vast numbers of deformed persons, of hunchbacks, crooked limbs, narrow chests, vaulted backbones, and of ruptured, decrepit, broken down persons of no advanced age, strike every traveller. The teeth, in general, are more decayed at five-and-twenty years of age, than among our population at fifty; and indigestion and ill health follow very much the working of the stomach-mill in our jaws. The sedentary habits, the in-door life, tobacco

smoke atmosphere in the stove-heated ill-ventilated rooms, the over-clothing and sensitiveness to cold and aversion from exercise, produced by the apparently happy way of living of the middle and lower classes in Germany, are not favourable to their physical condition, to their sound health and vigorous constitution. The human animal somehow does not seem to thrive upon the cup of coffee, the pipe of tobacco, the *dolce far niente*, and a *sonata* of Beethoven. That the *physique* of the German population is not in a satisfactory state is proved statistically, by the very great proportion of the young men called out for military service who are rejected on account of bodily defects, ruptures, malformation, or feebleness and incapability of carrying arms. The standard of height is not regarded, as all are called out in some branch or other of the military service, and the *Landwehr* man can be placed in some kind of service, however short his stature; yet in some districts, out of a hundred of the age to begin their military duties, sixty have been found, on inspection, unfit, and thirty in a hundred is not uncommon. This may be an exaggeration; but it is not doubtful that in Prussia, Saxony, Würtemburg, Baden, Hesse, the general tendency in the population to weakness of health, deformity of body, and delicacy of constitution, has attracted the attention of the governments of those countries. The inefficiency of the military levies made each year bringing this physical deterioration visibly and strikingly before them, they have ordered gymnastic exercises and teachers to be established in all the common primary schools, and a tournament system, as it is called, consisting of the practice of feats of agility and strength, to be introduced in the

higher schools, as obligatory branches of education; and avowedly that the children and youth of the country should be brought up more healthily and hardily, and that by bodily exercises enforced in the schools, the constitutional weakness and deterioration of the physical state of the population should be checked. We need no Act of Parliament to make our school-boys run, leap, and play; and no professors of ground and lofty tumbling to make our youth take the exercise necessary to develope their bodily powers and activity. The young animal with us, be it rich or poor, prince or beggar, is sufficiently vivacious to take the exercise and play necessary for the health of its constitution and the development of its limbs; and it has not a little superfluity, too, of the *vis vitæ* and activity which seems wanting in the German youth, to bestow on all the neighbourhood, in all kinds of active tricks and mischief. With all the deteriorating influences of a manufacturing life widely extended, the British population is unquestionably in a higher animal condition than the German as to bodily health, strength, activity, hardihood of constitution, and capability of enduring fatigue, long-continued exertion, wet, heat, cold, and extreme hardship; and, although comparatively uneducated, is much more clear-headed and energetic in real affairs, and of a judgment more exercised practically. This is a natural consequence of our population being bred in a more dense, complicated, and free social state, in which every individual has affairs and interests to guide, according to his own free judgment. In an agricultural population, individuals have fewer affairs depending on their own free individual judgment; and on the Continent, the freedom of action and judgment

is much more under superintendence and restraint. It is reasonable also to suppose that, estimating the moral state of two populations, it will be found that the more a man is a free agent, the more he is a moral man. There is an honesty of principle, and an honesty of police. The number of criminal offences may be smaller in a thinly scattered agricultural population; but the amount of temptation and of superintendence must be taken into account, before awarding to such a population the praise of superior morality. In a densely peopled manufacturing country, the poor man who walks hungry past a baker's window filled with loaves, or through a crowded market teeming with food, and restrains himself from putting forth his hand to snatch what would allay his hunger, although there is no policeman watching him in particular, is a man more under moral influences and habits, and is in a higher moral condition, than one in the same state of starvation who is restrained from stealing because there is nothing to steal, or because his theft would be instantly detected where the people are less numerous, the number of articles exposed and the opportunity to take them less, and where a hundred police eyes are watching him. It has been remarked in a former Note, that there is more of the virtues of honesty, and of moral restraint on conduct, exerted in the streets of London every day among its million and a half of people, than among the agricultural population of a country of ten times the number. The moral state of a country cannot be got at, by comparing its criminal lists with those of another country of equal population, for a given time. Such lists show the social, not the moral, state of the two countries. A penitentiary, a workhouse, a ship of war, a regi-

ment, may show a smaller amount of criminal offence in a year, than a village of the same population, without proving that people under such discipline are in a higher moral state.

When I first knew Hamburgh, about half a century ago, the ancient Hanseatic lady had much of old-fashioned courtlike state and etiquette about her. On great occasions, her senators in powdered wigs, velvet coats, silk breeches, and gold shoe-buckles, drove in gilt coaches of antique shape to the *Rathhaus*, and the town-guard of grenadiers and heavy cavalry turned out to present arms, with the accoutrements and manipulations of the Thirty Years' War. Her fortifications were strong, according to the old style of strong places. High, brick-fronted, earthen-works formed a double circumvallation, with deep wet ditches; and were certainly not of the description that an enemy could walk over them. They were well kept up; and sentries, at due distances, gave the appearance of an independent state. There was a decent, stately, solemn air about the city of Hamburgh, making up to the eye for the want of real importance and power. Since the evacuation of Hamburgh in 1814, by the French forces under Davoust, the Hamburgh senators have laid down their gilt coaches, peruques, and pomp of ancient days—and perhaps they were right; and have also laid down the ancient walls and fortifications of their city, levelled them, and converted them into very delightful public walks—and in this they were certainly wrong. It may have been folly, at first, for the city of Hamburgh to build walls and surround herself with fortifications which she had not strength to defend, nor even troops to man; but having them,

it was still greater folly to dismantle and raze them. The Hamburghers thought that their fortifications were the attraction which, in the event of war in the North of Europe, would make the occupation of their city by one or other of the belligerent powers a military object, and that by getting rid of their walls they would get rid of military occupations, of sieges, and of all the evils inflicted on them by Davoust. They forgot that it was not their fortifications but the natural position of their city between the Alster lake and the Elbe, commanding the supplies of the richest country in the North for cattle, horses, and forage, and commanding the line from the Baltic to the North Sea, at the highest navigable point of the Elbe, that made, and always must make, their city the main military basis of all warlike operations and movements in this part of Europe. In the event of such a war, the first operation either of friends or foes would be to occupy Hamburgh. If the fortifications had not been demolished, Hamburgh would not have been obliged to take a part in the unhappy war of 1848, against Denmark, would not have been obliged to open her gates to the bands of undisciplined students, journeymen, and ragamuffins, calling themselves free corps in the cause of German unity; but would have had the leisure, and the right, and the power too, to see her independence, and even her neutrality respected and her trade unmolested; even if she had given a free passage through her territory to the regular troops of the other German states on their way to Holstein; she would have had no Prussian garrison in 1849.

Hamburgh and Lubeck, if the proposed German or

Prussian empire ever comes to be a reality, will necessarily be converted into frontier fortresses of the first class, in which all consideration of commercial interests or accommodation must give way to the necessity of military arrangements and defences. The two cities are within five days' transport of troops by steam navigation, from the arsenals and barracks of St. Petersburgh. They are the nearest points of the German empire, in any future military operation, to the centre of the Russian military power. On any other frontier troops must be marched, magazines established, military preparations made within the Russian territory itself, long before any hostile movement could be undertaken against any part of the German empire. The world would know what was intended, weeks or months before any actual movement by Russia could be made. But no previous concentration of troops, no visible preparation for hostilities are necessary, or can be previously detected, where all is ready at all times for instant military action, as it must be the case at the head quarters of the Russian empire; and, therefore, Germany must at all times be prepared for defence on this her true Russian frontier. The military force which occupies the line from Lubeck to Hamburgh, and commands the Baltic coast with steam power, can advance into Germany at pleasure, upon any radius of a semicircle from the Baltic to the Elbe, has in its rear Holstein, Schleswig, Jutland, and the Danish islands, abounding in cattle, horses, forage, and all an army in the field requires, and alienated from German interests by the impolitic and unjustifiable warfare in 1848 and 1849, and has excellent positions to retire upon, if necessary, in

which, with the aid of steam power on the coast, a small body of troops can maintain their ground. The Danish army of 16,000 men, has maintained itself against the united Germanic army of 80,000 men, for two campaigns. This is the vulnerable part of the new European power, the united German empire, if such a power ever is to exist—the heel of the Achilles. In steam power on the Baltic, this German empire can never cope with Russia by any exertion. The naval means of the one power are existing, and concentrated in its capital on the Baltic. The naval means of the other have yet to be created. Arsenals, docks, men, and money, are equally wanting. Without a decided naval superiority in the Baltic, the new German or Prussian empire would have no frontier north of the line from Lubeck to Hamburgh, which could be defended. The line of the Eyder could not be maintained, and the more advanced line, which was claimed by the central power at Frankfort, the boundary of Schleswig and Jutland, would require a naval superiority in the North Sea as well as in the Baltic, or it would be turned by any hostile power. On the first outbreak of hostilities, Germany would have to abandon the whole country for which she has been contending and massacring the inhabitants, and would have to withdraw her troops to the only frontier she could defend — the line from Lubeck to Hamburgh. Her troops on her historical frontier of the Eyder or of Jutland, would be turned and cut off.

In humanity, as well as sound policy, a state has no right to extend her dominion over territories which she cannot defend, whatever may have been her an-

cient historical boundaries. Defence is the compact between a state and the subject; and if the state cannot fulfil the compact in the ordinary circumstances of war, the historical right must give place to the higher right of security to which the subject is entitled. A German government could not defend the provinces it claims.

CHAP. XVIII.

NOTES ON THE SCENERY OF GERMANY. — EFFECTS OF SCENERY ON THE IMAGINATIVE FACULTY OF DIFFERENT NATIONS — ON GERMAN CHARACTER. — THE PENINSULA OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN AND JUTLAND. — THE LIMFIORD. — ON THE GRADUAL RISING OF THE LAND ON THE BALTIC SIDE OF THE SCANDINAVIAN PENINSULA. — ON ROADS AND RAILROADS ON THE CONTINENT. — FARM-HOUSES AND ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY IN HOLSTEIN. — RIM OF FERTILE LAND ON THE SHORES OF THE NORTH SEA AND BALTIC. — SURPLUS-LABOUR. — SURPLUS-LAND. — PAUPER COLONIES — WHY UNSUCCESSFUL. — STATE OF PEASANT-PROPRIETORS IN HOLSTEIN. — A PROTESTANT CONVENT — SIMILAR INSTITUTIONS PROPOSED. — PRETZ. — PLOEN. — EUTIN. — VOSS. — GÖTHE.

In all the bights and inlets of the North Sea coast, from the Seine to the Sound — in all its harbours, channels, or river mouths, the water-side scenery has few picturesque materials and little variety; clay banks, mud dykes, chalk cliffs, sandy downs, reeds, willows, wooden piles, yellow water carrying yellow-sided barges with yellow sails bobbing up and down on yellow waves. The Dutch marine-painter makes something of such unpicturesque combinations of land, wood, and water, by the mere truthfulness of his representation; but the traveller finds little to admire in the reality of muddy rivers or harbours, the water-side lined with a row on each hand of brick warehouses or ship-chandlers' premises, interrupted here and there with landing-places, vacant sites, timber-yards, embankments, or stairs held up by piles, between which a thick gluey sludge oozes lazily at ebb-

tide, reeking and stiffening in the sunshine, and making dirt itself more offensive. The Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, the Elbe, the Thames, show little else at their sea mouths and harbours. The pure blue ocean wave, breaking clear and white against a rocky coast, or thundering down upon the wide sweep of a firm sandy shore so bright that it seems always in sunshine, is a kind of scenery rare on the North Sea coast. It belongs to the ocean coast of the Atlantic, on which the swing of the globe through the atmosphere seems, more than the wind, to raise the mountains of water which burst upon the rocky headlands. The Germans flock in summer to Ostend, or Nordstrand, or Heligoland, as the Londoners do to Margate or Brighton, to see the ocean; but it is not the ocean they see, it is not the ocean, at least, in its sublimity. They see but a pool of the mighty ocean. The land scenery within the North Sea coast, from the Seine or the Rhine to the Cattegat, is, in general, as tame, flat, and unpicturesque, as the waterside scenery. From the Baltic to the lake of Constance, from the North Sea to the Vistula, there are very few tracts of fine natural scenery. The general character of the land is flat, uninteresting, and without those accessories of fine old trees, hedge-rows, scattered cottages, green fields of old grass, gentlemen's parks and seats, which in England make even a flat country interesting and picturesque. Yet this land is Germany, the country of the most imaginative people in Europe. Can it be that this very want of fine natural scenery before their eyes, this absence of the sublime, the beautiful, or the picturesque in nature, is rather favourable than otherwise to the development of the imaginative faculty and poetical temperament among the German people?

Switzerland produces no poets, although the Swiss are born and bred amidst poetic scenery the finest in Europe. The Highlands of Scotland produce no poets, although the scenery, men, and events of the Highlands furnish subjects to the imaginative faculty of innumerable poets born and bred in the Lowlands and towns. Can it be that the mind may become saturated by the habitual and familiar view of the objects of poetic fancy, may become torpid and incapable of receiving vivid impression or strong excitement from what is constantly before it? We admit this deadening effect of familiarity on imagination, in cases of human action. We admit the truth of the proverbial observation, that no man is a hero to his *valet de chambre*, or that the most beautiful female may be neglected by her husband, although admired by all but him. We expect no deep feeling, no pathos, no tragic power from the keeper of a gaol, who has daily before him the most pathetic scenes of real life. We allow that the feelings, sympathies, and susceptibility of being impressed and moved, may be blunted in those cases by familiarity. May it not be the same in the case of the poet and his imaginative faculty? The constant supply of, and daily familiarity with, the real objects of the sublime, beautiful, and picturesque, around the inhabitants of a grand or beautiful country, may, perhaps, prevent the exercise of the imaginative faculty to create them for the mind. Memory only is required in their position, not imagination. Fancy, or the creative power of imagination, is dormant and not exercised. This, too, would account for the fact, that great readers and admirers of poetry, seldom prove great poets, or producers of what they admire. Memory, and not imagination, is the

mental power exercised in their ectasies and enthusiasms.

The Germans are unquestionably the most imaginative people in Europe. German literature is scarcely a century old. It was only about 1748, that Rabner, Hagedorn, Gesner, began their feeble attempts to produce original compositions in the German language. What a vast body of German literature, and almost all of imaginative character, has been since created! It can already vie in amount, and, in the opinion of many, in merit, with all the imaginative literature of all the other nations of Europe. But it is not only from their poetry, romances, novels, and such works of fiction, that the Germans may be deemed the most imaginative of the European people. They are more under the influence of imagination, and less under the influence of sober judgment, experience, and what we call common sense, than any other people, in their speculations in philosophy, politics, and the ordinary social affairs of life. The German philosopher, politician, professional man, and individual in private life, views things through an atmosphere of imagination, feeling, and enthusiasm, which generally magnifies and distorts what he is looking at, and leads him astray in his judgment and conduct. How many theories and speculations in religion, ethics, metaphysics, politics, issue yearly from the German mind! All are more or less brilliant and novel; in all there may be a nucleus of truth, but all are involved in a cloud of mystical expression, through which no distinct meaning is perceived by the reader. He must seek a meaning in his own mind, for he receives none that is distinct, from the author. The disciples of this mysticism are the more enthusiastic

because it is, in reality, their own impressions, feelings, or ideas, raised by vague imaginative expressions, that they embrace as the author's, and not any precise distinct meaning they have obtained from the author. They are properly the authors themselves, of what they adopt so enthusiastically as the author's meaning; for no two of them understand in the same way the same theory or speculation. These are meteors which illuminate the world of German mind for a season, and then expire and are seen no more. This is the history of innumerable productions in philosophy and politics, which issue yearly from the German press, and which are in reality imaginative productions as much as their poetry—are imagination applied to those subjects to which other people apply sober reason, judgment, experience, and good sense. To this imaginative turn of mind must be ascribed the great importance attached by all Germans to the æsthetic, to all the fine arts and all connected with them, and the little importance attached to those practical evils in their social state, which would drive sober people mad. The German people live in a world of imagination; and while they write, and talk, and sing, and make songs about German unity and liberty, and one great united German nation with one central constitutional government, and even fight nobly for the cause, or the imaginative idea, of this free united new Germany, they submit to the reality of a servile bondage in their Landwehr service, their functionary system, their passport system, their class-taxation, and in every social relation.

From the Elbe to the Baltic, across the country by the high road from Hamburgh to Kiel, the distance is 12¼ German, or 50 English, miles. The country

on the left of this line, the long peninsula between the North Sea and the Baltic, stretching out to the Scaw point, is a little *terra incognita* to modern tourists. No road leads through it to any other country. The route to Copenhagen has long been by sailing or steaming vessels from Kiel, or Travemunde, the port of Lubeck; and the change of language from German to Danish after passing the Eyder, the bad state of roads and conveyances, and the want of objects of interest to the merchant or the idle traveller, have prevented visitors from exploring this tract of country. The late campaign of the Prussian troops in it may perhaps awaken some curiosity. The peninsula is not so very small. From Hamburgh to the Scaw must be a stretch of from 280 to 300 English miles, and the greatest breadth, viz. from Grenaa on the Baltic, over Wiburg to Lemwig, near the North Sea, is about 100 miles; but the breadth is very variable, owing to the numerous inlets of the sea on both sides. At one place a narrow neck of sand of a few paces in breadth divided the long inlet of the Baltic called the Limfiord, from the North Sea, until the year 1816. It has been washed away, and a new navigable channel into the Baltic, with about nine feet of water in it, has been formed, and is a good deal used by small vessels. The northern part of this peninsula is now an island, and the Limfiord, which enters into the land from the Baltic at the town of Aalberg, is now no longer a long deep bay of that sea, but a sound between it and the ocean. It is curious that this sudden and rather important change in the features of this country has been so little noticed by geologists. The narrow neck of sand which connected the whole peninsula into one continuous piece of land, existed in the 11th century,

and apparently in the same state and dimensions as it was in until within these few years; for the Norwegian king, Harold Hardraade, according to the Icelandic historical Saga, drew his ships across it in the autumn of the year 1061, when he was blockaded in the Limfiord by the fleet of the Danish king, and thus made his escape. It is only by the establishment of pilots and sound dues, by the Danish government, on this new entrance into the Baltic, that the world is made aware that a feature of the land, which has existed for 800 years at least without any change, has been so altered within these twenty or thirty years, and without any sudden convulsion, that where there was formerly a high road on the land, there is now a navigable channel with nine feet water in it.

Is it not possible that the supposed gradual rising of the land above the level of the sea on the Baltic coast of Sweden, as first observed by Celsius about a century ago, while no such rise can be observed in actual progress at present on the ocean coast of the Scandinavian peninsula, may be a phenomenon produced by the channels, connecting the waters of the ocean with those of the Baltic, becoming deeper or more numerous, and throwing a greater quantity of salt water into the basin of the Baltic? If the Baltic were altogether fresh water, the difference between its level as fresh water, and as salt water, would be about 1 part in 40, that is, as the water became saturated with salt, the land would apparently have risen in proportion relatively to the water-level, and would be 1 inch above it, where formerly, when the water was fresh, there was a depth of 40 inches. The water becoming gradually salter, the specific gravity is gradually altering, and the volume of it required to

maintain an equilibrium with the ocean outside of the Belts and Sound, is lessening in the Baltic and uncovering more of the land on its margin. If the Belts and Sound were filled up, and the little mediterranean sea called the Cattegat were a tract of dry land, as it apparently has once been, forming a dam between the ocean and the Baltic, the evaporation in the climate of the Baltic would not be sufficient to keep this inland fresh-water sea within its present bounds, owing to the vast drainage of rivers and lakes disemboguing into it. Its level would be high enough to account for any appearances of the operation of water far above the present sea-level, without supposing one shoulder of the giant peninsula of Scandinavia to be gradually rising above sea-level, about the Gulf of Bothnia, by some partial upheaving from beneath, and the rest of the mass along the ocean coast to be quiescent. If the increase or diminution of the saltness of the water in the Baltic, according to the influx from the rivers in its upper end, where the rise of the land has been observed for about a century, would be sufficient to produce a difference in the specific gravity and level of the waters of the Baltic, in different ages, it would account for the phenomenon of a gradual rise of the land by the fall of the level of the water. If the Baltic could ebb out and flow full with the ocean, and become altogether sea-water, the land around it would appear to have risen considerably above the present sea-level, as a smaller volume of salt water in its basin would be required than the present volume of brackish water, to be in equilibrium with the sea.

There is a good macadamised road from Hamburgh to Kiel; and before the railroad was opened the dili-

gence was superior to any public carriages in Germany. The Continental diligence in general is, in respect of windows, light, and air, very little superior to the conveyances in which our police take their prisoners to jail. These Danish or Holstein diligences ran daily, were roomy, had large, good windows, were driven four-in-hand, the horses equal to any in our well-horsed coaches, the harness of leather, the driver in red, with a time-piece, and his time for each stage fixed and marked in a way-bill, and the rate of travelling about six English miles an hour. This is not flying, but it is the nearest approximation to flying the traveller meets in *post wagen*, *eilwagen*, or any public conveyance in Germany. Forty years ago, when I first knew this road, the ordinary course of travelling was to pass a night between Hamburgh and Kiel, even with extra post, for at least three fourths of the year. In those days the *stuhlwagen*, a long canoe of basketwork and boards, without springs, on four wheels, with a hood like a taxed cart's in the middle, and cross seats of wood, like the benches for rowers in a boat, suspended by leather thongs to reiterate every jolt, steered its weary way with its load of passengers and luggage, through a head-sea of ruts, mires, holes, and boulder stones, taking every now and then a short cut, of a mile or two about, across stubble fields and ploughed land, to avoid the impassable direct road, and, after struggling and floundering through an ocean of mud, made a providential arrival at the haven of a post-house, at the speed of two miles an hour of daylight. First came a good macadamised road through the country—a real improvement. Next came a railroad, ruining the other road by taking away the traffic of passengers and goods

which supported it. It may be doubted if this be genuine improvement. It is not the gradual healthy improvement called into existence by the gradual advance of a country in wealth, activity, and industry, but an imitative precocious improvement. England began with macadamised roads and cross roads, and conveyances upon them for goods and passengers in every direction, to every village, to every pore in the industrial body. Then came railroads, subsisting by the excellent roads on every side of them, and feeding, not starving, the other roads, being formed to meet an existing demand for a speedier and cheaper transport of goods and people through the country on main lines of business. Capital, industry, and trade had gone before, and prepared the way. But on the Continent all these are to come after. The only foundation on which the improvement of a railroad in any country can permanently stand, is the industry of the country; and this is here to be produced by the railroad. Railroads on the Continent are to be causes instead of effects of social activity and wealth; and are to be so in countries in which industry, enterprise, and capital are not in existence, or, if existing, walk in fetters under government regulation and interference. If the railroads, even in England, flourished only by taking the means and traffic by which other roads, the cross-country roads and the whole network of communications now covering the land, are kept up, they would be of doubtful benefit to posterity. Sixty years ago, railroads would have been prejudicial in England, the country not being prepared, not being roaded as it is now, so as to have common roads and railroads working together, and with mutual advantage to each other.

At Langenfelde, a hamlet of three or four houses, a few miles from Altona, the diligence, now superseded by the locomotive, drove into a farm-house, with vast folding doors on each gable-end, wide enough to admit two carriages to pass each other, and covering a great portion of the high road inside its walls, and having a row of lodging rooms on each side, the whole covered with a vast steep roof of thick reed or rye-straw thatch. This is the Holstein Custom House, at which the luggage is opened and examined for duty-paying articles, an operation gone through with great civility and despatch, without a fee, and without any trouble that a reasonable traveller could justly complain of. The French, Belgian, and English custom-house examinations, are much more annoying and vexatious. This house being exactly similar to all the ordinary farm-houses in Holstein, not larger, and laid out in the same way, I had the curiosity to measure it roughly while my luggage was being replaced. The length inside, from one gable-end door to the other, was about 112 feet, the breadth of the carriage-road, inside the house, about 30 feet, and a row of seven rooms on each side of it, of 12 feet in depth, would make the inside breadth 54 feet between the side walls. The whole of this is roofed over with one massive volume of thatch rising with a steep slope to a great elevation. The side walls, which are of bricks in wooden frame-work, are not above 10 feet high, and there are no upper lodging-rooms. The vast area above, under the roof, is a great store-room or loft for grain, roots, hay, and the winter provender for the cattle. This house, being a post-station and custom-house, has seven rooms on each side, but in the ordinary peasants' houses of the

same size, the dwelling-rooms occupy one side only, and the cattle, horses, and live-stock, occupy the opposite side, the carriage-road through the house running between. The waggons, harness, utensils, stock, and crop, and all the farmer's gear, are under the same roof in this huge ark of a dwelling, and always under the farmer's eye; for his family rooms, which are well lighted from the gable-end and side walls with abundance of windows in rows, have windows also into the hall, or interior area, in which his cows and horses, poultry, pigs, and utensils are lodged. The spaciousness of these farm-houses, the abundance of window-lights by which the inmates can see to be clean, and the cleaning and scouring habits of the people, formed, no doubt, by the absence of all dark corners for dirt to be hid in, make this arrangement of house and household by no means so unsuitable as we would suspect for working proprietors. The habits of the people are good and cleanly, and it is an advantage that the labourer lodges and lives with his employer under the same roof, although in different apartments. The parlour of a Scotch tenant, paying two or three hundred a year of rent, does not show more cleanliness, order, arrangement, and comfort, than is seen in the farm-houses here, nor so much, in all that regards their cattle, horses, and farm utensils, which is the great test of a good farming spirit. No district in Scotland raises such good horses as Holstein, and no horse-fair in Scotland shows such an average of good horses as the fairs of Kiel, Ploen, Eutin, Itzehoe, and others in this district. A family with its servants and farm-stock under one roof, can do more work and attend to small things better—and on small things, farming, especially stock-farming,

whether horses, cattle, or sheep be the stock, mainly depends — than where they have to run from place to place to do their work, and, in some place or other, must be out of sight of the master or mistress, who have the greatest interest in their work. The husbandry of the Holstein farmer turns mainly on his live stock, especially his horses, which are sought for over all Europe to mount cavalry officers, and on his cattle and dairy produce, which find a ready market in Hamburgh; and in stock farming, the master's eye is proverbial, in all countries, for its fattening powers, and the mistress's is not less celebrated for its extraordinary faculty of curing butter or meat to perfection. It puzzles the traveller to make out how the smoke escapes from some of these farm-houses, which appear to have no chimneys in the gable-ends, and no visible outlets or stack of chimneys in the centre for smoke to escape by, and yet, have no appearance of smoke or of soil from it in the house. It seems, that, immediately under the ridge of the roof, there is a *rauchkammer* or smoke-room, from end to end of the roof, for hanging beef, hams, sausages, or black-puddings, which enter largely into family consumption in Germany among all classes, and are an important object of farm produce for sale in the towns. Into this loft or smoke-room, all the pipes of the stoves conduct the smoke of the house, and it impregnates the meat and smoke-cures it. On each end, in the gables, there is a little hatch or open window in this loft, through which the smoke escapes, at its leisure, out of this smoke reservoir, without coming downwards through the funnels or loft-floors and annoying the inhabited regions below. The high-peaked, densely and neatly thatched roofs, embosomed in

beech trees, with trim gardens before them — the gentle swells of land crowned with groves, or ploughed all over, and divided by live hedges into fields of all shapes and sizes, with footpaths across them, just as in England, give the best parts of Holstein a very English look, an appearance very unlike any other part of Germany; and, knowing this to be the mother country of the English people of the south and middle of England, we willingly fancy that the houses, the land, and the landscape, are English all over. And it is not merely fancy. It really is very like English scenery in Bedfordshire, Rutlandshire, or Huntingdonshire. It has a very English look. The greatest difference, perhaps, is, that here, between the gentle swells of land there is more frequently a sweet, quiet, little lake or pond, reflecting the trees on its banks, and, among the house-tops of the hamlet, that stranger to English scenery, the stork, is sailing about or standing on one leg, half-domesticated, upon the roof. The extent of good land, however, on this line across the country is very small. It is the great peculiarity of England among European countries, and one main cause of her greatness compared to her small extent, that she is fertile all over, and not merely in her low grounds, valleys, depressions, and coast or river sides. Her fertility is not, as in Scotland and in all the Continental countries, a mere rim around a sterile back sticking up in her centre and running out into many barren prongs — a mere selvage of silk around a petticoat of dowlas. Her garment is altogether silk. Here the breadth of good fertile land is very narrow. About four miles back from the Elbe, on leaving Altona, the soil begins to be a thin, meagre, peaty earth upon a barren subsoil of mere sand, and

even the heath and weeds are of stunted growth. The *Segeberger heyde*, or moor, is part of this sterile back of the peninsula, and it extends from the Elbe northwards to the Scaw point, with more or less breadth and sterility. The river Stor and its branches rise in this southern part of the back of the country, and fall into the Elbe near Gluckstad. It is navigable for small craft as far as Itzehoe. On the other side of it, the Trave and its branches rise and run into the Baltic at the Gulph of Lubeck. The Alster runs through the city of Hamburgh into the Elbe. These are but small and sluggish streams. It is only in the depressions of the country where they run, and along their borders, that the land can be reckoned fertile. The huge back of the country, although of very little elevation above the sea — so little, indeed, that it is only perceptible by the outfall of the waters towards different sides — is of almost hopeless sterility of soil, or, at least, as much so as Hounslow Heath, which it resembles in quality. Here and there along the streams, and little lakes or ponds, which they form in their sluggish course, as at Bramstadt, Neumunster, and other villages, a little better soil appears, but the mass of the land produces only a stunted twiggy heath, which scarcely flowers, and could not support cattle or sheep like heathy moor-land in Scotland. This kind of land prevails to within two or three miles of the Baltic shore. The traveller then comes, rather suddenly, out of this barren tract, and enters within the rim of fertile land which skirts the shores of this peninsula on either side. On the North Sea side, from the Elbe to the Eyder, this skirt of fertile land, called Ditmarsh, is of considerable breadth, perhaps ten or twelve miles, and is a district of the richest

soil in the north of Europe, and is inhabited by a wealthy peasantry, who are proprietors of the land, and have no nobility or feudal estates among them. They struggled for and maintained a kind of independence from feudal rights over them in the fourteenth century, and to a late period were exempt even from import duties on articles to be consumed in Ditmarsh. The rim of fertile land on the Baltic coast is not so broad nor so good in quality as Ditmarsh, but it produces wheat, rye, barley, and other crops in abundance. Buckwheat is a common crop here, and seems the last in the rotation of crops, or taken from land exhausted and to be laid down to wheat or rye, with manure, next season. The buckwheat is much used in cakes, puddings, and soups; and, although the flour does not rise and admit of being baked into bread, it is, in the food of the people, almost as much used as potatoes. The main mass of the land, the back of the peninsula down to the fertile rims on each coast, is of so poor a quality, that it could not certainly afford a rent for the use of it; yet, here again, we see that a family working on such land, be it ever so barren, for their own living only, may undoubtedly live upon it, or, at first, starve upon it by inches, as proprietors of the spot of barren soil. No man could hire labour to apply to such land even if it were his own, yet he will apply his own labour to it, especially if agricultural labour is not in much demand around him. His toil will gradually fertilise even such land, for the foot of man carries fertility with it. Wheresoever man has dwelt or dug, should it have been a thousand years ago, there will be a lively green trace visible, even in the sandy desert or in the bosom of the heathery mountain. Every succeeding generation

of the labouring proprietor, on such barren waste land, is coming nearer and nearer to a better living and a higher remuneration for their labour. It is undeniable, that as an employment for money-capital laid out on the improvement of such barren land, the slow progress would never answer the returns required for money, would never repay the landowner for his outlay and the interest of it; but as an employment for labour-capital, the returns might answer exceedingly well, both for individual well-being and national wealth. There is a great quantity of unemployed labour and a great quantity of unemployed land in Great Britain; and the one cannot be applied to the other so as to make a profitable return for money employed in hiring the labour to cultivate the land. But, dropping the third element, the profitable employment of the money, if the surplus labour of the country were applied to the surplus land — by surplus labour and surplus land, I mean the labour and land which cannot be applied to each other so as to yield a profit or rent to the landowner, although the land would subsist the labourer — a vast population of labourers now in pauperism would be supported by their own labour as land proprietors, poorly supported, no doubt, and, at first, wretchedly supported, but still supported in proportion to their industry in cultivating the land, and with the certainty of an improving subsistence before them. A vast extent of land now idle, because it can yield no rent or profit for money laid out on it within five-and-twenty years, would be yielding to the country a subsistence for a vast population living by their own labour laid out on it. Money-capital is not the only element in true national wealth. Labour-capital, the amount of labouring

power subsisting itself in a country, is altogether as important, and the land which may subsist it, although not of a quality to afford a rent or profit to money-capital, is still a portion of the national wealth, because capable of giving subsistence to a portion of the nation. But to apply the labour to the land, the land must be the labourer's own. No allotment system, with payment of price or rent, either at present or in future, can succeed. The land can only subsist the labourer, but cannot subsist him and yield a surplus also for rent or profit, as it is only of the lowest quality of land we are speaking. A future price or rent from such land is not just in principle, because the future value is, in reality, the accumulated value of the labourer's own work upon the land, and belongs to him. He has been for half his life living poorly, and accumulating all his labour and thrift in the improvement of his land. This land was his savings bank for all his labour, it has received all its value from his labour, and a rent on that value would not be just. Poor colonies have been attempted here in Holstein, — that is, the settling of pauper families on poor lands,—but they have only partially succeeded, because they were established on a false principle. The pauper colonist was not made at once proprietor of his lot of land, but was settled only as a contingent proprietor, who had a load of debt to repay by his labour to the general concern, before he was put in full possession of his land and had the full use of his own labour to apply to it. He had neither the stimulus of property nor the command of his time and labour to apply to the lot of land, nor the certainty that he would, within any reasonable time, be able to fulfil the conditions required to make it his own.

But the plan itself of poor colonies would succeed, if not overlaid and smothered as it was in Belgium, Holland, and here, by regulations, superintendence, and functionaries. If a lot of land and a spade, seed-potatoes and seed-corn, six or eight bolls of meal for subsistence, and wood for a roof and door, were given to a labouring man on an English waste, in Epping Forest, for instance, or the New Forest, which are in a state of waste, the man would no more starve or return to pauperism, than if he had a lot of land given him in Canada. Exmoor or Dartmoor, given in free proprietorship, would support a large number of colonists. Many of the small plots of land on the verge of this vast *Segeberger heyde* are evidently cultivated by owners, who do contrive, with much waste, no doubt, of time and labour, to raise a patch of rye alongside of the native stunted heath. If the time and labour could be more beneficially employed, it would be pure waste to bestow them on this attempt at cultivation; but where is the waste if the man's time and labour can be employed in no other way? That is precisely the case here, from the want of manufactures to employ the labouring population, and precisely the case in England, from the excess of labour beyond the demand for its products in manufacturing industry. It is no waste of labour in such circumstances, to employ the surplus unemployed labour in cultivating the poorest soil, such as will barely return the seed and a little more to subsist the labourer until next crop, even should there be no surplus produce from the land to pay rent. This would still be gain to the labourer and to the country, and would relieve the pressure of poor-rate and the pressure of labour on employment, and at much less ex-

pence than by any emigration scheme. It is true, the labourers would gain very little money by their labour on their own crofts of land, but they would gain their own food, and their own clothing also, out of their land. The food and clothing from their own home-made stuffs of wool and flax would be more rude, but the man and his family would be fed and clad in some way, and this is more than manufacturing employment can always do for its labouring population. Home-made clothing is almost universally used by the country people in Germany, even of a class above common labourers. A very small per centage of our labouring population have any article of their raiment, except it may be their stockings in some districts, that is home-made, or even village-made. All comes from the factory. I met, one day, at Bramstadt, a small village on the road to Kiel, a party of young men, twenty-seven of them, in four waggons, returning from a wedding in their holy-day clothes, and only two wore cloth, which appeared, from the finish of it, to have been regularly dyed, pressed, and manufactured in a factory. They were clad in home-made woollen and linen, warmly and respectably clad; and, except the hat and silk or cotton neck-handkerchiefs, all their clothing seemed home-made; and their capital horses and trim waggons showed that they belonged to the better class of peasantry. This is no unhappy state of society for the labouring class of a country, who are, after all, the majority; and it is no waste or misapplication of their time and labour, to be raising their own food and clothing material, and manufacturing their own cloth by their family work, if their time and labour cannot be employed by the manufacturing capitalist

at wages that would enable them to be better fed and better clothed, while producing articles of higher commercial value. National wealth and national well-being are too often confounded by political economists, and treated in their theories as one and the same thing. But the well-being of a nation does not so much consist in the accumulation of great wealth in the hands of a few, or even of a very numerous body of capitalists in a country, as in the right distribution of a much less amount of capital and property among the people at large. The former may be national wealth in the sense of being available by taxation to the revenues of the state, and thus increasing and constituting its strength, wealth, and resources; but the latter is true national wealth in the sense of great material well-being, a good moral and intellectual condition, and a general exemption from want being diffused through and enjoyed by all the community.

A kind of pauper establishment—it may be impertinent to call it so—for a class of poor very numerous in England, and suffering as much real distress as the most destitute, the poor unmarried gentlewomen of the country, who, according to the common expressive phrase, "can neither work nor want," is within a forenoon's ride of Kiel, and well deserves the consideration of the traveller. At Pretz, a beautiful little town on the stream called the Schwentine, which expands here into the Lanker Lake, there was, in Catholic times, a convent for nuns of noble family, established, it is supposed, about the year 1216, and very richly endowed with land in the vicinity by a Count Orlamunde and other noblemen. There was no Henry VIII. here at the Reformation, to seize on the monastic lands, and confer them on his favourites;

and the Holstein nobility had a direct interest in preventing a conventual establishment that was of service to their own order, from being broken up for the benefit of individuals. They retained it as a kind of Protestant nunnery. The following is the present arrangement of this establishment:—It consists of a dean, or dignified clergyman, to take charge of the estates and affairs; a lady-prioress, and thirty-nine convent-sisters, who live in separate small genteel houses, each having her own establishment and housekeeping, and her separate income to live upon, on the footing of our fellows of colleges. They go into the world, visit their friends, partake of all social amusements, and are only bound to residence for a certain portion of the year; and to certain rules of dress, attendance on chapel, and similar regulations, when they do reside, in the same way as our fellows of a college at Oxford or Cambridge. When a nobleman finds he has more daughters than he can provide for, he enters the name of one of them at her birth, or in early infancy, on the convent books, and pays yearly a certain small stipend; which, if the child dies, or has succeeded to other prospects in life, goes to the funds of the establishment. At the age when education begins, the child is placed with one of the convent sisters to be educated and brought up at the expense of the establishment. No expense is spared. Music, dancing, languages, and all female accomplishments are taught; and the young lady, at a proper age, goes into society, to concerts, balls, plays, parties, with her convent sister as her matron or mother. It is not at all uncommon that the young lady gets an offer of marriage which she accepts of; and being brought up, not at a boarding-school, nor in a con-

vent secluded from society, but in a private house in which her convent-mother has her own housekeeping, her own social circle, and her own separate income to live upon, she is a well educated lady, and well prepared to become an excellent wife and mistress of a family. Many of the first nobility of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, have married young ladies brought up in those conventual establishments. There are several of them, but this of Pretz is the wealthiest. If the young lady marries, she of course leaves it, and her benefit and interest in it as a member ceases. If she remains single, she continues in it; and in course of time succeeds by seniority to a vacancy in the number of convent sisters, enjoying in the mean time a comfortable home and certain living; and occupying herself, as unmarried ladies usually do, in the education of the younger girls, visiting, church-going, living, in short, as fellows of a college do, who are sometimes resident, sometimes not, but partaking in all amusements and pleasures of good society. If one of these ladies, by the death of relatives, or otherwise, succeed to an income of a certain amount, it is understood that she is to make room for a successor. This conventual establishment of Pretz has very extensive estates, and even villages, in the most fertile tract of the country on the side of the Baltic, and it is said the population on its property exceeds 5000 persons. The land, with which it was endowed early in the 13th century, may be just as well, for the good of the community, in the hands of such an establishment, its income supporting thirty or forty families expending it on the spot, as in the hands of half a dozen counts or barons expending it in Paris or London. The vulgar prejudice against Church estates

may probably be a one-sided view of the effects on general well-being of such appropriations of the land of a country. Church-tenants are seldom the worst off among tenantry. To the population on the land, the tenants, their families, and labourers, to the 5000 in this instance, it may be beneficial to be under a corporate body, and not subject to the vicissitudes and exigencies which often oblige an individual landlord to raise his rents suddenly and unreasonably, or to eject his old tenants. They have more certainty in their tenure. In the middle ages, the tenants on Church lands, not only introduced improvement in husbandry and gardening, but by their exemption in general from the military servitude for their farms, and even from the inflictions and exactions of war in petty quarrels of nobles with each other, they kept alive the right to peaceful occupation of land in some considerable portion of every country. In the present times England perhaps would be the better of some establishments similar to this one of Pretz. Suppose the bishops, the Crown, and the nobility were to renounce such lands as before the Reformation belonged to convents and other monastic establishments! Those of the clergy or other classes, who think that the Reformation went too far, would only be acting honestly in renouncing all profit from what, even in this foreign Lutheran land, was respected as property not to be confiscated and appropriated to private individuals, or to the augmentation of clerical revenues, but, as far as consistent with the Reformation and Protestant religion, to be applied to the purposes of social or religious interest for which they were originally intended. It might perhaps be possible, even without the ancient monastic estates and

endowments from which these establishments in some of the Protestant countries of the Continent arose, or rather were continued with a few alterations after the Reformation and the suppression of convents as religious communities, to form similar establishments in England with great advantage. Life assurance does not afford the same benefit to female children as such an institution would do; for what is the girl to do with the thousand pounds or two payable to her by the Life Assurance Company on the death of her parent? It requires all the experience, acuteness, and foresight of a man bred to business, to lay out a small capital, in our days, so as with safety to derive an income from it. In an establishment like this one in Holstein, the parent would have the satisfaction of seeing the home, the society, the means and mode of living of his daughters, if they remained unmarried; of having their education provided for; and of knowing that distress or discomfort arising from poverty, want of a home, or from a dependent situation, could never force them into ill-assorted marriages; and that they would have the advantage of living and being educated, in that kind of good society in which they might form suitable marriage engagements. The spendthrift or the mercenary would scarcely look for wives bred in such an establishment and bringing no fortunes to their husbands, nor would the ladies be very ready to forfeit their right to, and certainty of, a comfortable genteel provision for life, unless for a similar competency to live on in the married state. To the widower in military or civil service going abroad, how much superior such a home for his daughters would be to a boarding-school, of whose mistress and inmates he knows and can know nothing, or to the

precarious living with an aunt, or maiden sister-in-law, or married she-friend, whose temper perhaps stands at very hot, and heart at very cold, in the private thermometer of daily life at the fireside. Will no projector for the good of society, and with an eye to a job for himself, seize the pen and draw up a captivating prospectus of such a Church of England convent for ladies—a village, all their own, situated in the midst of their own domain—old trees, old grass, a wood, a stream, green slopes, tangled lanes, and all the beauties of English scenery, villas clustered together, each with its garden, its flower-plot, its verandah, its little greenhouse, and all such lady-like comforts and accompaniments, the inmates enjoying their books, their walks, their music, their drawing, their visits at home to each other, their summer excursions abroad, to Switzerland and Italy, free from the care and uncertainty of a precarious income, and by the economy of united means supplied at the cheapest rate with all they consume by their own tradesmen, and living with an elegance and ease that wealth and pomp cannot command? What delightful parties! What charming forenoon walks, and calls, and visits, and tea-drinkings so interesting, and so blue! How pleasant to listen to the plans and anticipations of those going away, for a few weeks, on a tour of pleasure! How pleasant to hear the tale of those just returned to their convent-home from jaunt or visit, who have found nothing so delightful as their home! And all around them is their own in this home. No inhabitant on the domain, no tenant, tradesman, or labourer, but in connection with their establishment, and good people all and sure! Could not some modification of the co-operative principle

realise something of such a daydream? Thousands of females bred, and from the social position, not merely from the idle vanity of their parents, unavoidably bred, in habits of refinement and elegance are, owing to the same social position, unavoidably thrown, on the death of their fathers', into such poverty that all their habits and tastes are out of place, only add to their distress, and make them feel how much happier they would have been if it had been possible to bring them up to work for their daily bread in the fields or in the factory, with only the tastes and habits suitable to that condition! Could not this class be saved from much misery by some union, not quite so Utopian as fancy may sketch out from such an establishment as this at Pretz, but by some practicable reasonable adaptation of the same principle to the realities of life? The principle seems the same as that on which friendly societies, building societies, life assurance companies, and all such institutions are founded; viz. the union of small yearly payments, and of the falling in of accumulated sums to the general fund, by deaths, marriages, or other provision, and the providing out of this union or general fund a more full income or living than the remaining members could have enjoyed as isolated persons, if their annual contributions had been saved and accumulated by themselves. It is a matter of calculation.

Beyond Pretz the traveller, following the same road from Kiel, comes to Ploen, a small town standing on a neck of land, which seems to divide a considerable lake into two. The old castle stands on a considerable elevation; and the scenery of wooded islands and headlands running out into the lake, is very beautiful in itself and more prized from being unexpected. The

flat unpicturesque country, which extends from the shores of the Baltic to the Rhine, or Neckar, and from the North Sea coast into Asia, presents very few tracts of fine natural scenery. The environs of Ploen, and its lakes, and castle, and wooded islets, and points of lands are perhaps the most beautiful and picturesque in the North of Germany. Ploen was once a little principality, independent of Holstein, which accounts for its *Schloss* or castle. The last duke died about eighty years ago, and the duchy of Holstein-Ploen fell into the Danish royal family, as next heirs. It is now a poor dead place. Onwards a few miles, on the same lake, is a similar little town, Eutin, of about 4000 inhabitants, the capital of another little principality, that of the prince bishop of Lubeck, a branch of the Oldenburgh family, and thus connected with the imperial family of Russia. This little principality, of about 5000 subjects, escaped many of the calamities of the last war by the connection of its prince with the imperial family of Russia. In former days, about the beginning of this century, when my acquaintance with this part of Germany commenced, this little principality was wisely governed by its prince bishop, according to the old German style and system, although even then the forms appeared to young travellers somewhat old-fashioned and ludicrous. The standing army consisted of a corporal's guard in red uniform, with a cross of varnished tin, to denote the Church militant, upon the one cartouche-box which, with corresponding belt, bayonet, and musket, formed the *matériel* of war, belonging to the state arsenal, and was handed over by the one sentry to the other, when they were relieved on guard, the one helping the other, in the most neighbourly way,

to put on the warlike accoutrements. The duty was to defend the wire front of an aviary from the town cats, and this portion of the Germanic empire from the attacks of the republican French. The civil establishment was not less imposing than the military in this miniature state. At a miserable *table d'hôte*, at one o'clock, I remember dining with a gentleman in court-dress, powdered hair, yellowish-white silk stockings, purple silk smallclothes, rapier, and coat of a pompadour colour, with a gold-embroidered key upon the pocket-flap—a live chamberlain, or *Kammerherr*, of the reigning sovereign. I and my comrade, a student of Kiel, laughed until we rolled upon the grass at our own wit in ridiculing the state establishment of this empire of Eutin. Yet it is easier for young travellers to ridicule and laugh at such establishments of old standing, than to examine and understand the good that may be in them. This little state and its prince were among the most estimable things in the North of Europe at that period. The establishments were of the smallest, because the system and organisation of the Germanic empire regarded such little principalities as independent states, and entailed on them the necessity of keeping up, nominally, a court and a civil and military establishment. The ridiculous was in the system, not in the personages necessarily carrying it on. This prince was in reality one of the most estimable of that period, the friend of the Stolbergs, of Voss, Jacobi, of Tischbein the painter, of Schlosser, Bredow, and other men of of intellectual eminence, who made Eutin, in the North, something, in a smaller way, like Weimar in the South of Germany. Of the eminent men who

retired to Eutin at the outbreak of the revolutionary storm, Tischbein will probably be named by posterity, when the others and their works are consigned to oblivion. He removed from Naples at the beginning of the war in Italy, and for a time settled at Eutin. His paintings are more highly prized at Rome and Naples than those of any other artist, foreign or native, of his times, and they are not merely esteemed, but, in the judgment of many, have not yet reached the degree of estimation in which they will be held by posterity. Great power in painting, although painting is partly a mechanical art, seems much more rare than great power in poetry. Germany has produced dozens of good poets, for one good painter. Voss lived many years at Eutin; and the locality of his poem, "Louise," is at this lake and in its neighbourhood. His "Louise" is an attempt to introduce hexameter verse into the German language, and apply it to a subject of ordinary domestic life. It came, therefore, into comparison and competition with the "Hermann and Dorothea" of Göthe; a poem of the same class of subject and versification, and composed with the same view. A party spirit in literature exists in Germany as strongly as in politics in our country. Having no political existence or business in real life, the German throws himself with a keener party-spirit into the strife of literature, than we can enter into, or sympathise with; and admits no excellence but in the puppet of his party — the Pitt or Fox of his literary predilection. This party-spirit had, in Göthe's lifetime, so extensively Göthecised the public mind, that no merit of any kind or degree in literature was admitted, which was independent of, or

seemed opposed to the taste, opinion, example, and merit of Göthe. This delusion is passing away, and Göthe is settling down into a much lower seat than his admirers assigned to him, even a few years ago. The unprejudiced reader, who compares the "Louise" and the "Hermann and Dorothea," finds the ideas of Voss more natural and poetic, the manners and images he presents to the mind more agreeable and pleasing, and his sweet picture of still life — of the still life of the village pastor, and the marriage of the village pastor's daughter, and of the quietude, comfort, and good feeling of the old minister and his family — more true to nature, and to a nature delightful to the fancy, than Göthe's hurly-burly of a village on fire, and the inn-keeper's son of the next village harnessing his horses, and driving his stool-waggon, in Homeric verse and style, to the rescue of his future love and spouse. Göthe's poem may be a better imitation of Homer in versification and spirit; but the style and manner of Ajax, or Hector, engaged in a great event in a great epic, appear a little out of place, a little burlesque in sound and sense, in the matter of the village hero, the innkeeper's son, hastening in his war-chariot, viz. the stool-waggon and four grey plough-horses, to a fire in the next village. It is too serious to be burlesque, and too burlesque to be serious. The poem of Voss, its competitor in the adaptation of the classical versification to German poetry, pleases the many, because it is an original, not an imitative poem, and although not a great and powerful work of genius, it addresses itself to German habits, tastes, and feelings. The "Hermann and Dorothea" addresses itself to a conventional and acquired taste and feeling

for the classical model, and pleases only the school of imaginative literature which has been formed on that model. In literature, as in morals, the many occupy the jury-box, and their verdict is generally sustained in the high court of time. It would be ridiculous to place Voss beside Göthe as an equally great poet; yet, in this one instance, Voss has hit, and Göthe has missed, what pleases the taste of the many.

CHAP. XIX.

NOTES ON ANGELN. — THE ANGLO-SAXONS — WHO WERE THE ANGLO-SAXONS? — CLAIM OF THE PRESENT GERMANS TO BE CONSIDERED ANGLO-SAXONS — DIFFERENCE IN THE PHYSICAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND CHARACTER OF THE TWO POPULATIONS. — THE CEMENT WHICH BINDS PEOPLE TOGETHER INTO A NATION WANTING IN GERMANY — GERMAN NATIONALITY NOT POSSIBLE — CONFLICTING INTERESTS OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF GERMANY PREVENT A BENEFICIAL UNITY OR NATIONALITY — FEDERAL UNION ONLY ATTAINABLE. — SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE CONTINENTAL PEOPLE — MATERIAL CONDITION — INTELLECTUAL CONDITION — INCAPACITY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT OR LIBERAL CONSTITUTIONS.

No spot of land on the face of the earth can claim such historical importance — excepting only the Holy Land, and the seven hills beside the Tiber — as a slip of country, in extent scarcely exceeding a large parish, situate between the North Sea and the Baltic, the river Eyder and a muddy inlet of the Baltic called the Schley. This is Angeln, the native land of the Anglo-Saxon people, the soil on which the elements of liberty and constitutional government, of the free institutions, laws, character, and spirit which distinguish at the present day the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons, were originally sown; and which, transplanted into England, are now, after a growth of fourteen centuries, overspreading the world, and diffusing civilisation and freedom through the human race. Germany, with her 40,000,000 of people, knows no higher glory in this 19th century, than to claim kindred and identity of race, language, social insti-

tutions, and character, in remote times, with the inhabitants of this little spot of land, and to claim for them the honour of having been the primary root and stock of the character, spirit, energy, love of independence, and sense of individual rights, which their descendants in England and America have developed into constitutional governments, uniting liberty and the civil and political rights of individuals with the highest national power and glory. But is all this true? Were the Anglo-Saxons of the 5th century the ancestors of the present German populations, and the progenitors, in any reasonable sense of the word, of the English nation? Were the Anglo-Saxons of the 5th century the type of the ancient German population of that age; the same people, not merely in the colour of the hair, eyes, and skin, or in the temperament of which these are indications, but the same in thesocial position and circumstances which form the institutions and character of nations? Were the Anglo-Saxons of the 5th century really the chosen people, the Israel of civilisation and liberty on earth? Or is all this the self-delusion of modern vanity seeking to connect itself with a character, spirit, and social arrangement not known, within historical times at least, to have existed among any portion of the German population; a kind of self-adulation of the visionaries called the Young Germany, who finding nothing in the past or present history of the German people connecting them with free social institutions, fall back upon a condition described by Tacitus 400 years before the Anglo-Saxons are named in history, and claim it as their own? Who were the Anglo-Saxons? One who listens to the declamations of German students and professors on

the glory, past, present, and to come, of the Anglo-Saxon race, the ancestors of the fair-haired blue-eyed *Burschenschaft* of *Germania*, the *élite* of the sons of men, would suppose that in ancient times a mighty nation called Anglo-Saxons had occupied the country from the Rhine to the Vistula, from the Adriatic to the Baltic, and had sent an expedition in the 5th century to England, to exterminate the inhabitants, and plant there the institutions, laws, manners, spirit, and language of this great people. The Anglo-Saxons, however, appear to have been in the 5th century the inhabitants of a very small tract of country, who, from the physical circumstances in which they existed, never could have had common institutions, laws, manners, and character, with the inland inhabitants of the rest of Germany. They first appeared on the English coast, according to Bede and the Saxon Chronicle, in the year 449, almost 40 years after the Romans had abandoned the island; and in the course of 100 years of incessant warfare with the natives and with each other, they established seven, or rather eight, little kingdoms in England. Bede died in 734, nearly 300 years after this invasion, and he is the nearest historian to the events he records, the authorities he refers to being his contemporaries, who furnished him with facts or traditions, and the Saxon Chronicle being a later production compiled from his work. Two centuries and a half, or nearly three centuries, intervene between the facts and the nearest record of them, and of that period a considerable portion was passed by the Anglo-Saxons in ignorance of Christianity and the use of letters, and the other part in the fanaticism of new converts to Christianity, still more fatal than ignorance to the

transmission of past events, because it rejected, as connected with paganism, the traditions of their forefathers. There is much in the ordinary historical account of the Saxon invasion, taken from Bede and the Saxon Chronicle, that suggests suspicion. Hengist and Horsa, we are told, landed at Ebbsfleet in the Isle of Thanet, near the mouth of the Wantsum, now an inconsiderable brook, or rather ditch, which divided the isle from the main coast. Julius Cæsar landed in the same locality, and secured his vessels within a walled inclosure still in part remaining. It is intelligible that his fleet, coming from the opposite coast near Boulogne, should make for this port or beach; but why vessels coming from Angeln at the mouth of the Eyder, should cross the mouths of the Elbe, Weser, and Rhine, on their side of the North Sea, or of the Thames on the British coast if they took our side, and should run round the North Foreland and Isle of Thanet, up to the same port or beach used by Cæsar, in order to land there, is not so obvious. The coincidence looks as if the two traditions, that of the Roman and that of the Saxon invasion, had been blended into one story. The invaders of the year 449, we are told, consisted of three tribes, Juti, Angli, and Old Saxons. These must have been distinct in language, manners, and laws, to be distinctly enumerated; and the different settlements or kingdoms of each in their new country kept separate in history as long as the heptarchy lasted, and down to the time of Bede. Now, the Juti have always had a well-defined boundary in their native country, having the sea on all sides of them but one. The Angli, we are told, were between the Juti and the Old Saxons. The present Angeln is so situated, if the Old Saxons were

the forefathers of the present Frisians of Eydersted, Ditmarsh, and the west side of Holstein; but it is a little district about 22 miles in extent from north to south, or from Hottinsted to Rendsburg, and about the same from east to west, or from the shore of the Baltic to the shore of the North Sea. This district of Angeln, whether it was greater or smaller in the 5th century than now, was deserted, we are told by Bede, even to his time, owing to the removal of its inhabitants to England. This is also a suspicious account. The land of Angeln is equal to any in England, or in the neighbouring and surrounding country of Holstein, in capability of yielding subsistence to man. It is contrary to all probability that it should have remained uninhabited for 250 years, while the country on each side of it was occupied, although in general of inferior soil. Angeln may in the 5th century have included all Schleswig; but in whatever way the country may have been divided among the three tribes, it is certain that the invaders came altogether from the country north of the Elbe, and the Trave, which runs into the Gulf of Lubeck. Now, the whole population at the present day of this peninsula, from its extremity, the Scaw Point, up to the Elbe and Trave, including the cities of Hamburgh, Lubeck, Altona, Flensburg, Kiel, Gluckstadt, and many important towns with some manufactures and foreign trade, does not exceed twelve or fourteen hundred thousand souls. It cannot reasonably be assumed that this peninsula was more densely inhabited when the people were in a more rude and barbarous condition, and depended on hunting and fishing for a subsistence, or on a husbandry and trade much more imperfect than at present. The grown up males of

such a population as may have existed in the 5th century in this country, might be sufficiently numerous to conquer and subdue the people of England, and to seize their lands, as the Romans had done about five centuries before, and as the Danes and Normans did to this Saxon population five centuries later; but that they should have extirpated the race of the original inhabitants in any of their petty kingdoms, and have become in any literal sense the progenitors of the present English people, is not credible, because not consistent with their own obvious interests, nor with the analogy of a prior and a subsequent conquest of the country in similar circumstances. They came as conquerors not as colonists. People were a property as much as land or movables, and by far too valuable to be exterminated either by the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, or the Normans. We have no reason to doubt that the Saxon conquerors, like the Romans before, and the Normans after, became insensibly amalgamated with, and absorbed in, the more numerous prior population; and we know from Cæsar, that the Belgæ, a people of cognate race and tongue with the Saxon invaders, were settled before his time in all the coasts of Britain opposite their own country; and Procopius mentions the Frisii as a people settled in Britain before the period of the invasion of the Juti, Frisi, and Saxones of Bede. It is to be observed also that neither Bede nor the Saxon Chronicle mention that the invaders brought their wives and children, cattle, and household goods, with them; and the small number of vessels in each expedition recorded, and the perpetual warfare during the first hundred years with the natives, or with each other, preclude the idea that

they came as colonists or settlers exterminating and replacing the old race of people, and not mixing and becoming identified with them.

It is by some process of imagination rather than one of sober reason, that the present Germans, the Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons, Hessians, connect themselves in theory with the mixed people of England, and claim a kind of hereditary part, an affinity of spirit, character, and mind, in the laws and institutions, which time and circumstances have produced among the descendants of the Frisi, Angli, Juti, Celts, Belgæ, Romans, Danes, all mixed together in the race of the present English and American populations. History, from the days of Charlemagne to the present hour, shows no such affinity of character, spirit, or national action, and feeling for free institutions, between the people of Germany and the people of England. It would puzzle the homœopathist to express the proportion of German blood that may be running in the veins of John Bull or his American children; and it would puzzle the philosophic historian to discover any similarity at any period in their character, spirit, or idiosyncrasy as nations. German philosophers, indeed, discover an identity of race between the modern English and the Teutonic people, in the fair hair, blue eyes, white skin, and affinity of language. But a common language, common descent, and all the physical circumstances of similarity of eyes, hair, and skin, do not give nations any more than individuals a similarity of mind, character, feeling for independence, for liberty, for free action, and all that makes the difference between the spirit, social existence, and national idiosyncrasy of a free and a servile people. In these, the fair-haired, blue-eyed

German is as different from the fair-haired, blue-eyed Englishman — physical characteristics of race, by the by, which are very rarely seen in England — as the dark-complexioned Hindoo from the dark-complexioned Spaniard. It is in the unseen, not in the seen, — in the mind and character, not in the hair, or eyes, or skin, that the intellectual and moral differences between nation and nation are to be sought; and these differences arise, not from difference of race but from difference of the physical and social circumstances in which each nation exists. In all ages a radical difference, social and intellectual, must have existed between the three tribes blended together under the name of Anglo-Saxons, and the main body of the Germanic people who now claim an original identity with them. The people who invaded and conquered England in the 5th century, must have been a sea-faring people, a people conversant with, and whose institutions and national idiosyncrasy were formed upon, the habitual living with an element in their social existence, unknown to the inland Germans of the forest. This difference, alone, is sufficient to form a difference in the character and spirit, and in all that distinguishes nation from nation. The sea-faring man, depending every hour upon his own skill and exertion, is bred individually in a school of energy, perseverance, self-reliance, and independence of mind and action. This character, formed by physical circumstances common to a large proportion of a population, spreads over a whole nation, and gives its tone and spirit to all their institutions, in every stage of their civilisation. They have an additional element to live with. A boat in a gale of wind is a practical illustration of the ideal republic of the ima-

ginative political philosopher. The most skilful, in whose experience the crew have confidence, takes the helm,—every man takes his place and duty according to his fitness. Birth, title, privilege, conventional rank or distinction fall away here. All obey the most suitable commander, all feel their responsibility and their own individual worth, in their common struggle against the element. A sea-faring people are necessarily co-operative, necessarily under discipline, yet individually independent. No such character and social habits are formed, or rather forced upon a landward population either of hunters, husbandmen, or shepherds, by any circumstances in their modes of living. They are isolated from each other rather than independent. They are rarely brought into co-operative exertion for a common good, but only for the benefit of a superior and master. They are consequently less prepared, individually, for civil and political liberty in their institutions; are less co-operative, yet less self-acting, less reflective, less foreseeing. It is chiefly in the inland countries of Europe that despotic governments have been established. In countries with a side to the sea,—as Spain, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Holland,—the character of the population has always enforced on the governments a respect for their civil rights, as great as under constitutional governments. A sea-faring population is also necessarily a sea-side population; and the land on the sea-coast, from the most westerly point of Jutland to Ostend, has been, as stated in a previous note, gradually gained from the sea by the labour of resident peasant-proprietors, and can only be defended from the sea by their intelligence and co-operative labour in repairing their sea-dykes. Self-government

in each little community is necessary for the very existence of the land. Aristocracy and functionarism cannot intrude here. In the country between the Eyder and the Elbe, there are no noble estates, not a functionary, except the amtman, who is not appointed by the people themselves, the peasant-proprietors. Self-government is more fully in action here, in the original seat of the Anglo-Saxons under the autocratic Danish rule at the present day, than in any part of the Continent. The circumstances, in short, under which a people live, form the mind, character, and institutions of that people; and not the colour of their hair and eyes, or the identity of their race and language with any other people. The coast-side population of Germany must in all ages have been a different people from the inland population, in character, institutions, and national idiosyncrasy. They appear to have been so in the earliest times, even in religion. Odin, and the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian mythology of Odinism, do not appear to have belonged to the inland German people, but to the sea-coast tribes.

Five of the greatest monarchs who ever ruled in Europe were nearly contemporaries, about the beginning of the 9th century, — Charlemagne, Alfred the Great of England, Harold Haarfagre of Norway, Eric of Sweden, and Gorm the Old of Denmark; and they appear to have had one common object in their policy — to nationalise their countries, to put down the petty independent nobles, or small kings, within their territories, and to extend one government, law, and kingly power over the whole. It is remarkable that the most powerful of these sovereigns, Charlemagne, was the least successful in

the ultimate results of the attempt. Norway, England, Denmark, Sweden, became and remained consolidated nations. The empire of Charlemagne fell asunder when the hand was cold that had squeezed it into one body. It is easy for the historian to account for this by the weakness or perversity of Charlemagne's successors; but to split and divide seems to be in the nature of the German people, or rather of the social circumstances under which they live, and to have been so from the earliest times to the present day. Tacitus gives us the names of about twenty-seven tribes of Germans living between the Elbe, the Saal, and the Vistula; and of about eighteen between the Elbe and the Rhine. What can be the reason that for eighteen centuries, from the days of Tacitus to the present time, Germany has remained in the same social state as to the union or nationality of its inhabitants? It has ever been what Tacitus describes it, — a country inhabited by from thirty-eight to fifty distinct tribes of one race and language, and capable of uniting for any great effort of importance to all, but falling asunder into distinct states or tribes as soon as the pressure of the occasion is over, having no nationality, common feeling, or principle of union as a nation, in their ordinary social existence. The last great effort of the whole German people united for a common object was in 1813, when they rose as one mighty nation, and drove the French armies over the Rhine. It was the counterpart of the great united effort of their ancestors in the first century against the Roman legions. It had the same success in expelling the common enemy from the German soil, and it was followed by the same result, — the return of each little semi-independent tribe, or state, to its own separate social existence, with a slight bond of union for the whole,

in a federative assembly of deputies from the different chiefs of the thirty-eight modern German tribes. This was the constitution or social arrangement of Germany in the time of Tacitus, and is the arrangement adopted by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Some reason there must be more than mere chance, or mere conventional or political causes, which are but temporary in social affairs, for this endurance through eighteen hundred years, and through every condition of society, from the most barbarous to the most civilised, of a tendency to a disjointed social state among the German people. France, Spain, England, during the middle ages, were always tending towards nationality, towards common interests, common feelings, a common government, the suppression of the smaller territorial or social divisions of the country and people, and towards their consolidation into one nation. Germany stands in nationality in the 19th century where it stood in the first, — a country divided into thirty or forty small nationalities or governments. There must be some reason, founded on natural circumstances, for this continuity of its social condition. The great movement of Germany in 1848, which is still going on, is to establish a nationality of all the people of German race and language. The idea has been in agitation among the youth and the learned of the universities since the glorious issue of the war of liberation, in 1813. It has been widely diffused and generally accepted among all Germans of the middle and upper classes. The misgovernment, oppression, excessive taxation, and sacrifice of personal freedom and industry to the useless Landwehr and functionary establishments, have made the prospect of any change from their present condition popular

among all classes. But the two great principles laid down by the educated upper classes — that identity of race and identity of language constitute the basis of nationality — are false and imaginary. Germany itself is a standing proof of the insufficiency of these two principles to form one nation of the German people. England and the United States of America prove that identity of race, language, literature, religion, laws, and manners are altogether insufficient, even to hold together as one nation two populations with no common interests. The Germans have a proof nearer home of the insufficiency of the principles they have laid down as a basis of German unity. The people of Alsace are of German descent, and use the German tongue; yet in the campaign of the allied German powers against France, in 1813-14, they met nowhere in France so obstinate a resistance from guerilla bands, formed voluntarily by the people, as precisely in Alsace. This was so obvious, that Professor Arndt, one of the earliest and most enthusiastic promoters of a new German nationality to be founded on the original identity of race and language, published a treatise at the time, upon the bad reception of, and practical resistance to, the German troops, by their brethren of the same race and language, the Alsatians, and is unable to account for this anomaly to his theory. The true reason is, that his theory, which has been adopted by the young Germany, and by the constituent assembly at Frankfort in their speculations, has no foundation in reality — is merely one of those imaginations which the German mind receives in spite of facts, and historical evidence, and cherishes for a time with the wildest enthusiasm.

The social cement which binds populations together into one nation is their mutual material interests.

Identity of race and language will not nationalise a population. In Germany this cement is wanting. The inhabitants of the different parts of the country do not require each other in their ordinary existence, do not employ each other, have no mutual material interests binding them together into one whole. What common interest, for instance, have the people of Bavaria, on the Danube, or on the shores of the Lake of Constance, with the people on the Vistula, or on the shores of the Baltic? They have nothing to exchange with each other. Each district produces the same articles — rye, wheat, wool, flax, timber — and in sufficient abundance for the inhabitants, and the distance, as well as the identity of products, prevents interchange, commercial relations, or common interests. Would the inhabitants of Bavaria, upon the imaginary connexion of being one nation with the inhabitants of Pomerania, because they have the same colour of hair, eyes, and skin, and speak the same or a similar language, consent to pay heavy taxes in order to build ships of war, or naval arsenals, and forts, for the defence of the Pomeranian coast? Would it be a just and natural social arrangement? The two districts or populations are as distinct as if the ocean rolled between them. The productions, natural or artificial, of France—the wines, silks, and manufactures of the south, the grain, woollens, linens, and cottons of the north, and the great centre of money, of legislation, and of political movement in Paris — bind together all the departments of France into one nation. The same community of interests, the same mutual dependence upon each other of all the parts, the same or even a greater impossibility of living without each other, connect all the parts and individuals in the

British dominions into one whole, with common feeling, as a nation. In Germany Nature has denied, by her very bounty to each district or group of inhabitants, the means of connecting them into one nation. They have naturally no want of each other, are not obliged to exchange industry for industry with each other, have no products peculiar to one part of the country, and not to be obtained in another but by interchange—such, for instance, as wine in France, or coals in England—and without such mutual demand and supply, and such common interests uniting them, a people cannot be a nation. They may be centralised under one government, but not nationalised. The German philosophers refer to the United States of America as a country of much greater extent than Germany, and yet completely nationalised and imbued with a common spirit and national feeling from end to end of their vast territories. But the United States are amalgamated into one nation by the same principle—their mutual material interests—as all other nations, and not by the identity of race and language. The Northern States, with their capital, commerce, shipping, and rising manufactures, supply the Southern States with what they cannot produce for themselves, and take their finer products of cotton, tobacco, rice, in exchange. Carolina and Louisiana are more closely and directly connected with New England or New York than any two contiguous provinces in Germany —than Holstein and Hanover, for instance, or Mecklenburg and Brunswig. The politicians who predict that some day the United States will fall asunder into separate kingdoms or republics, have not considered how closely they are united by their material interests. It is not more probable than that England should

some day resolve itself into the Saxon Heptarchy. It is federalism, not nationality, that the German people may with advantage establish. Nationality, national power, and one executive and legislative central constitutional government for all of German race and tongue, amalgamating forty millions of people between the Vistula, the Rhine, the Baltic, and the Adriatic, into one nation, with a common spirit, common government, common laws, rights, and a common representative legislature, is a brilliant fancy, and a nucleus of truth is not wanting in the vision. It cannot be denied that the forty millions of German people parcelled out by the Vienna Congress among thirty-eight different sovereigns, great and small, are misgoverned, oppressed, deprived of their natural freedom and civil rights, have no voice in the management of their own affairs, no organ of their public opinion, and in their social and political condition stand far behind the requirements of an educated highly civilised people in our age. But how much of the speculation which throws a splendid halo round this nucleus of truth will bear sober examination? An executive and legislative authority over all Germany, as in France or England, would in every act be inflicting monstrous injustice on one portion or another of such a disjointed population having no real common interests, and from natural circumstances incapable of having common interests and a common spirit of nationality, unless in the extraordinary circumstances of a general invasion. It was not even the invasion of Germany by the French previous to the Peace of Tilsit that raised any national spirit, but the subsequent oppressions of the invaders. A league of independent states to repel any future invasion, and a constitutional government in each

state, is probably all that can be attained, or that it would be desirable for the German people to attain. A central power, with armies, fleets, a diplomacy, and a court establishment of its own, would exceed the financial resources of Germany. Each state has at present its own public debt, its own military and civil establishments, and, except the diplomacy, which is but a trifling expense in the smaller states, no saving whatsoever could be effected on the present expenditure of each state. But, to meet that expenditure, the people are already taxed to the very utmost in every part of Germany. The revenues are pledged for the public debt, and the taxes barely suffice to pay the interest to the creditors, and to meet the most needful expense of the several states. How then is a new central state-power of this great united German empire to be supported? The Frankfort Assembly, in its visions of glory, proposed that the united central power of the new German empire should always have on foot an army of 480,000 men. But the present military establishments of the thirty-eight German states amount to about that number; and although only embodied and in pay for six weeks in the year, the Landwehr force has reduced almost every German state to a very dangerous position, by ruining the people, abstracting their time and labour from productive industry, and rendering them incapable of paying any increase of taxation. Half a million of soldiers more than the present military force of Germany could not be supported. If the Frankfort Assembly meant only that the present half a million of Landwehr troops should be at the disposal of the central power at Frankfort, still it would be a most oppressive and expensive arrangement. The

young men whose homes and means of living were on the Rhine or the Baltic might be called to serve for six weeks in regiments on the Danube or the Adriatic. If the Landwehr troops are to be, as now, the main military force of Germany, the burden of this military service on the people will be lighter, and the Landwehr cannot be better distributed for economy than by keeping the regiments as near as possible to their native localities. But an army of half a million of men always under arms was but half the dream of this congress of dreamers. The new united German nation was to have a fleet in the North Sea, a fleet in the Baltic, and a fleet in the Adriatic. Holland, Belgium, and Denmark were to be incorporated with the new German empire, as lands naturally belonging to it from their situation at the mouths of the great German rivers, or on the coasts of the great German Ocean, and inhabited by branches of the one blue-eyed fair-haired Teutonic race, using dialects of the common old Teutonic language. The King of Denmark was to be appointed Lord High Admiral of his own fleet by the central government at Frankfort; and the ships, colonies, and commerce of Holland, and manufactures of Belgium, were to be managed and directed in the departments of state of the centralised government of the new German empire situated at Erfurt or Frankfort. These idle visions melted away in the Spring of 1849, and the members of the Constituent Assembly at Frankfort returned each to his home, to sleep out on the domestic pillow, or in the arm chair, the glorious dreams of the young Germany, which the rude reality of want of power, funds, or principle, had disturbed on the benches of St. Paul's church at Frankfort. The whole German movement

for a unity and central power impossible, or if possible under the gripe of a strong despotism, either monarchical or republican in form, unjust and oppressive for some portion or other of the united countries, and without any reciprocal advantages to the naturally distinct parts of this forced unity, will evaporate entirely, and leave no residuum. If it leave any, the movement will probably end in the very settlement of Germany which the Emperor Napoleon established—a federal union of the southern states, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, Baden, and other smaller powers, and a similar federal union of the northern states, Prussia, Hanover, Brunswig, and others. There is a natural division in the temperament, character, and manners of the Germans of the north and of the south of Germany, as well as in their material interests, and in the physical circumstances of climate, soil, and products, in which they live. It would be more easy and natural to make two nations of the people of Germany than one, notwithstanding the identity of race, language, eyes, hair, and skin.

It is a striking fact connected with this subject that the Rhine Confederation of Napoleon required fewer men for military service as the contingent of each state, than the German Confederation of 1816, and was consequently less burdensome on the people. Bavaria had 30,000 men only to furnish as its contingent to the Rhine Confederation; but 55,000 men were its contingent to the German Confederation of 1816. Baden furnished 8000 men to the former, but 10,000 to the latter. Hesse, 4000 to the one, but 6,200 to the other. Nassau, 1680 men to the Rhine Confederation, but 3082 to the German. In whatever way the contingents may have been divided among the

States, in proportion to the accessions of territory they may have obtained at the settlement and partition of Germany, in 1815, it appears that, from the same population and country on the Rhine, an addition of about 30,000 men to the regular peace establishment was levied and supported under the order of things established by the Vienna Congress, more than under the Rhine Confederation, established by Napoleon. The excessive and unnecessary development of the military element through society, has been the bane of Germany since 1816, and its fruits are showing themselves in 1848.

The traveller who desires to form a sound opinion on the social condition of the continental people must visit the continent repeatedly, and at various points. His first impressions will require revision, for they are generally magnified and embellished by novelty, or perhaps distorted by ignorance and prejudice. He seldom sees things as they are, at first sight. The conclusion to which a longer and more familiar acquaintance will lead him is, that the social and moral condition of the continental people is not keeping pace with their material and intellectual condition. They enjoy all the material means of science applied to the useful arts, of steam power applied to navigation, rail roads, and machinery, of chemical and mechanical knowledge applied to every process of productive industry and manufacture, yet, owing apparently to the construction of society, these advantages want a basis to rest upon, and produce a progressive civilisation and well-being. They want a great and increasing home market, a great and increasing body of consumers able to pay for all that science and skill can produce for their gratification, and with means and demands

increasing as rapidly as production, and giving rise to it in all the arts of civilised life. The continental people enjoy a very great diffusion of property through the social body, by the division of land into small estates, and by the law of equal inheritance; and in consequence of this general diffusion of property a very large proportion of the social body is exempt from absolute destitution of the necessaries of life; but by this very diffusion of property the want of any thing more than the mere necessaries of life; both the desires and tastes, and the means to pay for the higher gratifications of civilised life, which co-operative industry, skill, capital, commerce, manufactories, and science are employed in producing, are limited and confined within very narrow bounds, and society is stationary, civilisation, material well-being, and reproductive employment, are not progressive, and with the increase of the numbers of the social body without any possible increase of the breadth of productive land, or of the employment that land can give, it is to be apprehended that this social condition may become retrograde. Many observers of the spirit of the age, who augured, from the general diffusion of landed property through the social body, a happy, enviable, and hitherto unknown state of society, and hailed the approach of the *Saturnia Regna* in the new social state into which Europe has entered, must confess their disappointment at its results. This new social state has happily got rid of the abuses of feudalism, and of the great feudal landholders; but it has raised, and perhaps unavoidably raised, abuses, and a class still more oppressive, a class of functionaries not merely to do the necessary business of the state, but who have become a machinery holding the people and the state

itself in subjection to themselves. They are the state, and the German sovereigns are but their functionaries. Whatever be the form of government, autocratic or constitutional, they are the state power legislating through the cabinets, or through the pseudo-parliaments. They have in their hands the official interference with and superintendence and oppression of the people without any class of social influence above or beside them for the mass to rally upon, and make effectual, by peaceful means, the voice of public opinion against gross misgovernment. In this social state all reform of abuses is reduced to a struggle of physical force between the governed and the governing. It has reduced the whole body of small proprietors to the condition of a soldiery on leave. What class is there in the social body to appeal to for their just rights as proprietors of the soil,—for their personal freedom from the thraldom of their military and civil functionaries? None but functionaries and military officers interested in their thraldom. It has robbed property of its rights, industry of its motives, good conduct of its reward; for property, industry, and good conduct in the civil relations of life are levelled in the ranks of the landwehr service, and in this semi-military structure of society, in which a functionary class has superintendence over every individual in the body of small landed proprietors, in every act or movement. These are unhappy results, which no human intelligence could have foreseen, or have made credible if foreseen, yet which, now that they are matter of experience and history, not of speculation, appear to be the natural and necessary consequences of a social state in which there is no class in the social body with the influence of superior property in land

or other capital, standing between the rulers and the equalised mass of the community, the ruled. The habitude of subjection, the want of independent means and spirit, and of the practice of self-government in their own local and even personal interests and affairs, make such a population incapable of using free institutions, or liberal constitutions of government, if they had them.

The continental people have enjoyed, in this generation, an educational system which brings the whole population through government schools and seminaries adapted to every age, capacity, and station, taught by masters trained in normal schools to the science of teaching, examined, licensed, and appointed by the government and its educational functionaries. No unqualified and unlicensed person is allowed to open a school; and no individual is allowed to neglect the duty of sending his children to school at a proper age. The results of this universal and compulsory educational system, from which so many good, well-meaning persons expected a speedy millennium of moral, intellectual, and social improvement and well-being, have not proved satisfactory. It has, no doubt, dispelled gross ignorance, and has diffused widely the pleasures of knowledge, and of cultivated tastes unknown to our labouring and middle classes, perhaps even to a large proportion of our wealthier class. But knowledge is not mental power. The mind is not formed in schools, but in free social action with affairs, interests, and temptations, which call forth the exercise of judgment, prudence, reflection, moral restraint, and right principle. The continental common man may know more of geography, history, and all the branches of education included in what is called use-

ful knowledge, than our ignorant man in the same station; but his mental powers, his judgment, his good sense, his acuteness in his own business, his industrial habits, his domestic habits, his sense of what is due to himself and others, his sense of right and wrong, his religious sense, are not so well educated. He is, owing to the social circumstances in which he lives, less capable of self-action, of independent opinion, of judging rightly in affairs public or private, than the much more ignorant man of the same station in England. His knowledge and taste, in all literary and especially imaginative productions, and in all that addresses itself to the ear and eye, may be much more cultivated; but this school-room training, although it adds to his intellectual enjoyments, and is, on this account, no doubt of the highest value, does not add to his energy, perseverance, intellectual powers of judging and acting rightly, nor to those qualifications which make the upright, respected man and useful citizen. For these acquirements he must go to a higher school than the Prussian gymnasia — the school of life in a free society, in which every man may manage his own interests according to his own judgment. This national education system is attended with another evil touched upon in former notes, which was not foreseen, and was not intended by the governments by which it was instituted and adopted. It throws the formation of the public mind and opinion entirely into the hands of a junta of professors bred in the same philosophy and views of social polity. All men, from the peasant boy to the prince, are trained in the same visionary schemes and theories. All who have minds to be moved by intellectual influences are moved, not by their own minds, but by

theories and views in which they have been indoctrinated by their functionary teachers. These, from the teachers of the alphabet in the primary school up to the professor in the university, have all been trained in one set of opinions, — are disciples of the same doctrine in philosophy and social economy. The sovereign may change his ministers or his functionaries; but he only changes the men not the measures of his government, for all are imbued with the same principles and spirit. In our social state, in which education is a free trade, and mind and opinion are free, the erroneous doctrines or views of one school of political or philosophical opinions are neutralised by those of another. Our free press and education, in the real affairs of life, sift and fling away all visionary theories in practical government, and form the public mind to judge truly, and in general correctly, on all public interests. The continental governments expected, by seizing the reins of education, and appointing all teachers, from the highest to the lowest, in the national schools and universities, to regulate the public mind and opinion in a way conducive to their own power and stability. But the teachers are the disciples of those who taught them, and they are a body of academical philosophers, imbued with political doctrines and theories, which, by the machinery of licensed teachers, examined and qualified by them, are universally diffused, are inoculated into the youth in every stage of education, and form the public mind. These doctrines and opinions, however true as abstract propositions, are not practically applicable to the existing governments in Germany, by any reform short of revolution; and national education in government schools, under exclusively privileged

teachers, has proved not merely a failure but a powerful lever, overturning the governments which established it as a support. In France we see it declared that all the teachers of the primary schools, in very extensive districts, are socialists. Those who taught, qualified, and licensed them must be socialists too; and tracing back to the fountain-head the theories of communism and socialism, and the fanaticism for impracticable objects which have seized on the public mind in Germany and France, it is evident that a few dreaming philosophers, in the chairs of the universities, may infuse, through this educational machinery, a poison into the public mind, which these educating governments have no means to counteract. They have thrown away the only antidote to false or dangerous opinions — freedom of discussion, freedom of tuition, freedom of the press. They may dismiss the socialist teachers, but they have none to put in their places who are not imbued with the same doctrines, and educated in the same schools. Free trade in political opinion, in the education of the people, in discussion through the press, or in public meetings, appears to be the safest policy even for autocratic governments.

The reasonable conclusion to be drawn from the great political convulsions in Germany in 1848 and 1849, and which are but in their beginning now, is, that if the German people had the liberal institutions and the constitutional forms of government, for which they fought so bravely in 1813, and of which they were defrauded by their rulers, it is very doubtful if they are capable of using them, and working with them for the general good of Germany. A central government, with one legislature and one executive power, uniting, merely by civil and military functionaries, into

one nation interests and populations so different and distinct, owing to physical circumstances of situation and products, that they cannot be joined and placed under one law and government with any mutual advantage or without the sacrifice of one great integral part of this new empire to another, would be a monstrous regime of tyranny and oppression, whether a democratic, liberal, or autocratic form were given to it. The appendages to the vision, armies, fleets, finances, diplomacy, a metropolis, official residences, will not remedy the natural defect — the want of any principle of mutual advantage to unite the separate parts of Germany with feelings of a common interest into a common country. The inhabitants, even of those portions of Germany which might be united into one national body under a national government, want the education of a free people, and the feeling for personal independence, the habits of self-government, the energy, firmness, and sober good sense of a free people. There is but too much truth in the observation of Macchiavel, "that it is as difficult to make a servile people truly free, as to reduce a free people to slavery."

THE END.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-street-Square.

00143192

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 March, 2016